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THE STORY OF IONA

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PLATE I. ST. MARTIN'S CROSS: EAST FACE. *Frontispiece.*

The Story of Iona

BY THE REV.

EDWARD CRAIG TRENHOLME

M.A.

OF THE SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

COWLEY

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS & DRAWINGS

BY

FRANCES M. RICHMOND

AND MAPS

EDINBURGH: DAVID DOUGLAS

1909

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TO

THE SCOTTISH

FELLOWSHIP OF ST. JOHN

AND

IN MEMORY OF

H. S. R.

PREFACE.

WHILE stationed in Iona in the winter of 1907-8, I was asked to write something about the celebrated island for others, and began to do so with the scenes before my eyes day by day. It was my third visit, and of course I had already discovered the charm and interest of the place. My friends the islanders told me about their home and its traditions, and some other friends of my Community gave us books. Since my recall from Scotland I have read in the Bodleian Library, and have also been kindly helped by some Gaelic linguists and other specialists, to whom, as well as to my informants in Iona, I am most grateful. All the carved stones which are mentioned were verified for me on the spot last summer, and those in St. Oran's Chapel and Burial-ground are numbered in the order in which they then lay.

A simply written bibliography will be found at the end of the volume. The literature of the subject begins with such primary early authorities as Adamnan, Bede, the old Irish and Scots annals, and the ancient Lives of the Saints. There is a series of interesting descriptions of Iona by visitors from 1549 onwards, especially Dean Monro, Sacheverell, Martin, and Pennant. Among more recent books, the late Dr. Skene's *Celtic Scotland* and the late Bishop Reeves's annotated *Adamnan* are storehouses of historical information and references.

Adamnan the Abbot, writing in Iona Monastery more than 1200 years ago, felt it necessary to begin his Life

of St. Columba with an apology for the Gaelic names which he had to use, because he thought his native tongue sounded harsh compared with other languages. However this may be, it is an unpronounceable language to strangers, and yet it is quite necessary to retain vernacular place-names in such a book as the present one. I have used modern Anglicised forms for some Irish and Highland personal names. The O' of Irish names is for Ua, and means grandson or descendant of so-and-so, while Mac means son, or, as part of a surname, descendant.

Some of Miss Richmond's photographs were taken specially for the book in 1908, and others before it was planned. They will recall Iona or make it known—as the case may be with the reader—in a way that words cannot compass. Even from the little that is said of Legh Richmond at the end of Chapter XI., it will be seen how becoming it is that his granddaughter should render us this service. Rubbings of some of the richly-carved grave-stones have been reproduced by photography and the same "half-tone" process as the other plates. The designs on the title-page are examples of old Irish monastic art from the Book of Kells, the eagles being emblematic of St. John the Evangelist.

The unchanging coasts and hills shown in the views from nature are the very Iona of Columba and Aidan; of Adamnan, the scholar saint, and Cillene, the anchorite abbot; of Connachtach, "choicest of scribes," and the martyr Blathmac—*insula sanctorum, mater ecclesiarum.*

Since the book has been in type, I have been shown that what is said as to the age of the old buildings in Iona needs qualification. The Cathedral is spoken of on p. 26 as "built about the year 1200," and elsewhere the hitherto accepted

opinion is adopted that the church is a later reconstruction of a building of that period. But through the kind interest of my publisher, Mr. Douglas, I have now received a weighty communication from Mr. Thomas Ross, joint author of Messrs. MacGibbon & Ross's works on Scottish architecture, who is convinced by his latest examination of the buildings that "practically there is only one period for the Cathedral and Nunnery, and that about the end of the 14th century." The tower piers, which have been especially claimed for the earlier date, have characteristics which Mr. Ross considers decisive against it; in which case the now destroyed inscription which has been recorded as "Donaldus O'Brolchan fecit hoc opus" has either been misread, or at least cannot have the historical connection suggested by Dr. Reeves and expressed on pp. 113 *seq.* And while agreeing with Dr. Honeyman's views as to the former existence of a crypt (see pp. 114 *seq.*), Mr. Ross assigns it and the arches which remain in the north wall of the choir to the same late period in general. He suggests a connection between the building of the Cathedral and the benefactions which were bestowed on Iona at this time by two successive Lords of the Isles, John of Isla and his son Donald. Mr. Ross thinks that some details in the Cathedral are borrowed from Ireland, and perhaps also the plan of the smaller buildings lying to the east, though these he considers to be also late in date.

E. C. T.

Cowley St. John, Oxford,
Eastertide, 1909.

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THE STORY OF IONA.

CHAPTER I.

THE ISLAND AND SURROUNDINGS.

It is the imperishable glory of Iona to have been Columba's isle, whence the pure and glowing light of the Gospel arose like a morning star on the pagan darkness of the Picts, and shone until it merged into the full day of early Scottish Christianity.

Iona was at first called Iou (pronounced something like Yeo in English), to judge from the famous Life of St. Columba by his eighth successor, Adamnan, who makes a Latin adjective from the name by adding *a*, thus calling the island Ioua (or Iova) insula, the island of Iou. Other old spellings are Eo, Ea, Ia, Io. In the ninth century the German monk Walafrid Strabo writes in a Latin poem on the martyrdom of St. Blathmac (to be referred to later)—

> "Far on the Pictish coast is seen a sea-girded islet
> Floating amidst the billows; Eo the name that it beareth.
> There the saint of the Lord, Columba, rests in the body."

Iou is considered to be the original Pictish name, and may signify corn,* or more precisely barley, which was the corn of these bleak regions. Barley was called *eo-rna* by the Gaels of Ireland, and probably something similar by their cousins the Picts, *hordeum* in the Latin of Italy, and *java* in the Sanskrit of India, all from some word used by the common Aryan ancestors of these races. Java, the

* Dr. Whitley Stokes on the Irish Annals, s.v. Eo. See the Bibliography at the end of the book.

name of the great fertile island of the East Indies, ma thus mean the same as Iou, the little fertile island of th Hebrides. Iona and the larger outlying island of Tire were both noted for fruitfulness in barley, and there is littl doubt that Tiree, in Gaelic Tiriedh (pronounced *teerea* means Land (tir) of Corn. But there is less to go upo in Iou, Eo, Ea, and therefore less certainty.

I, pronounced like E in English, is the ordinary Gaeli name for Iona now. Sometimes it was written Y, and a Gaelic words often have an *h* prefixed according to the law of the language, we get the aspirated forms Hi, Hy, an Hii, the last being used by the Venerable Bede just afte Adamnan's time.

When St. Columba's glory had made the name of th island famous, his own name of Columkill (Columba of th Church) was often joined to I, making I-chaluim-chille i Gaelic, Anglicised as Icolmkill (I of Colum of the Church The local describer of Iona in the Statistical Account o Scotland published in 1798 says that the island "is alway called I, except when the speaker would wish to lay a emphasis upon the word, then it is called Icolumkill." Thi represents the present Gaelic usage among the islanders.

Down to modern times Iona often went by the name o Innis nan Druineach, and an old burial-ground (to be men tioned later) is called Cladh nan Druineach. The meanin seems to be Innis or Island, and Cladh or Burial-place, of th Sculptors, for "druineach" signifies a "cunning workman of one kind or another, and in this case would doubtles refer to the old-time stone-carvers of Iona, so much of whos beautiful handiwork still remains. Another Argyllshir island, Innis Draoinich or Isle of Sculptors, on Loch Aw is so called for a similar reason, "draoinich" being a mer variation of spelling for "druineach."* This name of Ion

* There is a note on Innis Draoinich and its mediæval stone-carvers Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (II., p. 261). Some monuments remain in Cistercian ruin on a neighbouring island. It seems very like Iona's case.

is written by the traveller Pennant, who visited the island in 1772, as "Inish Drunish," while the writer in the New Statistical Account, 1847, spells it Innis-nan-Druidhneach, and adopts the common interpretation, Island of the Druids. The story that Iona was a sacred island of the Druids before St. Columba came seems to have sprung up at a quite late period, though there are hillocks and water-springs whose names savour of the old religion of the land.

The English name Iona arose through a mistake which appears in mediæval documents. Adamnan's *Ioua Insula* was erroneously transcribed as *Iona Insula*, and so by an error of one letter the name Iona got into Latin and English use, though not into the Gaelic language. Notwithstanding this haphazard origin, Iona is a beautiful name, and has won a firm place for itself.

Iona's geographical position can be seen on the map at page 45, and can be effectively realized on the spot by a survey of the wide and splendid view from the northern hill of the island. It lies in the midst of the Hebrides, or Western Isles of Scotland, and these varied islands, far and near, great and small, with their vast enchanting setting of ocean and sky, compose the whole of the prospect. A quarter of the circle is an unbroken sweep of water, beyond whose horizon Ireland is distant seventy miles, and Labrador 2000. Of the islands which form most of the rest of the ring, all that were inhabited have known the monks of Iona, for this was their home mission field. To begin with Tiree, the long, low island whose higher points appear at intervals above the waves twenty miles north-west. Here Iona had more than one monastery, and some of St. Columba's Irish friends also founded religious settlements. Many traces of the Celtic Church remain in Tiree. It is sometimes possible to discern a speck on the horizon more than twice as far out as Tiree. This is Barra Head, the southernmost islet of the long outer fringe of the Hebrides, a rock 600 to 700 feet high, with a

lighthouse. When the dusk of evening settles on the ocea Skerryvore revolving light flashes out, ten miles south Tiree, where murderous rocks lie.

More to the north of Iona are the bare and rock Treshnish Isles, and Coll's broken outline in the distanc Beyond the Treshnishes, forty miles north of Iona, rises th mountain island of Rum, where an Iona monk lived as hermit in the seventh century. St. Donnan's Isle of Eigg near. One summit in Rum stands out as a sharp peak, the right of which the Cuillin hills in Skye are visible on clear day. This takes us well into what was Pictland in S Columba's time, and the scene of his missionary labour The Cuillins, sixty miles away and reaching 3230 feet height, are the most distant and the loftiest mountains sight; Ben More, in Mull, is 3170 feet; Rum attains 2660, and the highest peak of Jura in the south-east to 257 feet.

Mull is the large mountainous island between Iona and th mainland of Argyllshire, and its varied coast and more distan hills where the red deer roam fill most of the eastward view The islands of Gometra and Ulva lie against the projectin coast of Mull above Iona, and in front of Gometra, Staffa basalt cliff-face rises from the sea. Following down the Mu coast (as it appears in Plate 2), a steep break in the hil line marks where an arm of the sea runs into Mull, almos cutting it in two. This inlet is called Loch nan Ceall (Loc of the Churches), from the number of ancient churches tha stood on its shores. The remains of one are in Inchkenneth a small island seen from Iona in the mouth of the loch an named after a great Irish saint, a friend of Columba. Si Allan Maclean entertained Dr. Johnson and Boswell at hi house in Inchkenneth in 1773, and brought them over to visi Iona.

The centre of the view of Mull is Ben More's cloud summit, overtopping Bourg headland, a dark terraced mas of trap at the mouth of Loch Sgridain, another arm of th

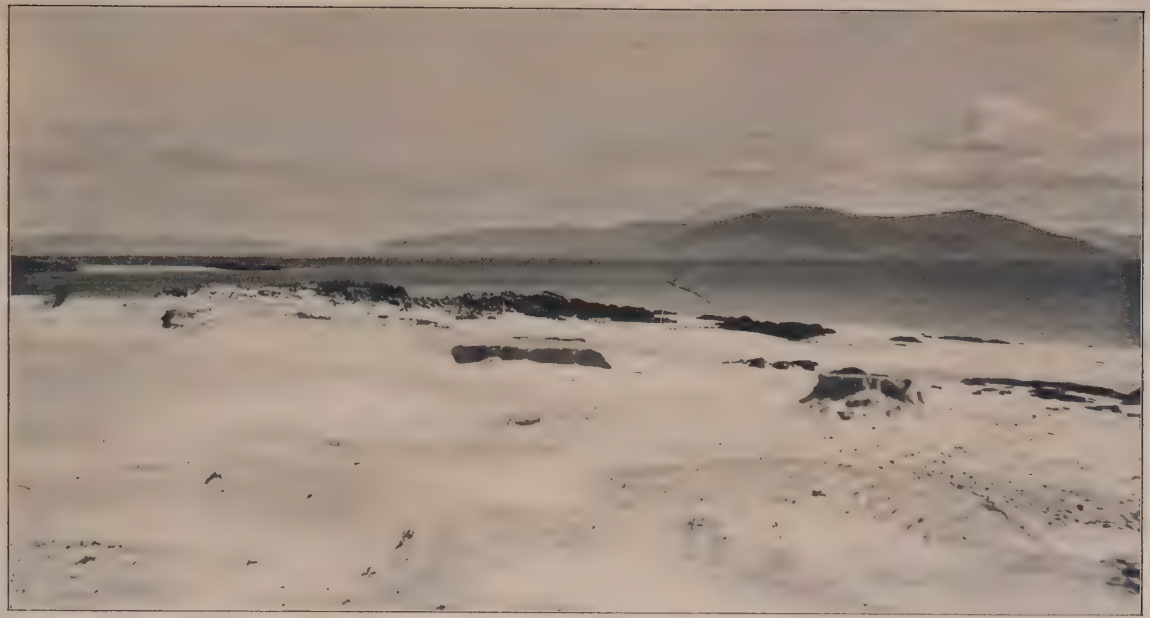


PLATE 2. THE WHITE SANDS AND MULL. *Page* 4.

sea which penetrates the island. South of the loch mouth (which ends the view in Plate 2), the south of Mull is projected westward in a long tongue of land called the Ross, off the end of which lies Iona, separated by a Sound a mile in width. The granite rocks of the end of the Ross form the coast opposite Iona, in the foreground of the spectator's view. They are very striking when silhouetted in black between the pallid sea and sky of early dawn, or when they glow rosy red in the warm light of the setting sun. Now and then in hours of daylight a great black-backed gull sails like an eagle along their bare escarpment, surveying the sweep of waters beneath him.

To the south-east, the three rounded mountains rising side by side above the low line of the Ross are the Paps of Jura, thirty miles away. Isla is next to Jura, and Colonsay in front. The Ross itself ends with Erraid Isle, on which is seen the lighthouse station for Dubh Iartach and Skerryvore Lights, and off Erraid a high outlying rock-islet, Eilean nam Muc, stands sentinel over the southern entrance to the Sound, with the Torran Rocks lying beyond. Dubh Iartach* is a lighthouse perched on a solitary sea rock twelve miles south-south-west of Iona, and from it to Tiree nothing breaks the sweep of the sea-line.

Iona itself is a pleasant little island, three miles and a quarter long from north to south, and a mile across the middle. It embraces much variety in so small a compass. There are hill and dell, wet heathery upland and fertile plain, sea-cliff and silver sand. Only a few small trees exist, all near man's habitations. The natural features of the island and surroundings are so preponderant and so unchanging that they must have worn the same aspect to Columba's eye as to ours. The present population of the island is about 200. If we spirit away, in imagination, their little village and more scattered homesteads and the mediæval abbey,

* This seems to mean Black (Rock) of the West, as Colonsay people might call it. See Dhu Heartach in Johnston's *Place-Names*.

and call up instead the huts of the Irish missionaries clustered hard by their wooden church, we have Iona before us very much as it must have been in the sixth century.

The winter climate is mild and humid, frost infrequent, snow seldom seen nearer than Mull's mountain tops, although fierce winter gales sweep over the bare little isle and the foaming waves sometimes prevent communication with its shores for several days at a time. The sea enters much into the life of Iona. The loud or gentler surging of the waves on the shore fills the ear day and night. The farmland is manured with seaweed in winter, and in spring white flocks of gulls flutter after the plough on the dark fresh-turned earth. Flounders are large and abundant in the Sound, and the fish known as saith is taken in considerable numbers. Fishing is, however, only a pastime or a minor occupation with the islanders, whose chief work is agriculture. The arable land is in a belt across the middle of the island and a tract overlooking the Sound north of the village and Cathedral. It is held of the Duke of Argyll in small crofts and a few larger farms, and produces potatoes of special excellence. The north-west and south are higher and uninhabited, and sheep and shaggy Highland cattle feed there among the crags and heather. The wool shorn from the sheep sets the busy spinning-wheels going by the cottage firesides in winter.

The island is bright with flowers in their season, and its Saint has his own, for the little yellow St John's Wort (*Hypericum*) is Columkill's Flower in Gaelic folklore. Larks trill from the sky as they do over English meadows, and there are other well-known land birds, but those of the shore and the sea are the most characteristic. The blue rock-dove (*Columba livia*) haunts the southern cliffs. The heron and curlew can be espied along the shore, and pretty little oyster-catchers, named in Gaelic gille-brìgde (servant of Bride). The dark cormorant is the most conspicuous sea-fowl, but there are other interesting ones, such as the black and white eider-duck in winter and the diving gannet in summer.

Seals come sometimes to the lonelier beaches. The pellucid rock-pools are bright and animated with tiny life.

Such names as Lag an Dobhrain (Otter's Hollow), Uamh nan Sgarbh (Cormorants' Cave), Aoineidh an Taghain (Cliff of the Polecat), tell of wild life, past or present. Besides some of the weasel tribe there are rabbits on the island. Vipers (less correctly called adder) are unknown, although they are found on the Mull side of the Sound, and this species of snake is a good swimmer. The absence of vipers from Iona was marked by the early monks, and Adamnan tells how Columba, in his last blessing of the island, declared that their venom should hurt none therein so long as God's commandments were kept.

Although, as has been said, Iona can have changed but little in aspect since it became known historically, it bears written in its structure the records of great prehistoric changes. At one time—perhaps when man had hardly yet appeared upon earth—forest trees grew on the tract between the Cathedral and the base of Dùn-I, where their trunks, "as big as a man's body," are embedded in the peat of the Lochan Mòr.* My informant—who took note of these trees when cutting peats—found also, at a depth of about six feet, a bottom of white sand underlying the bog, showing that these sands, which now form such beautiful beaches here and there on the shore of the island, were once much more extensive, before the time of the trees. Iona's white sands, according to the late Duke of Argyll, are formed chiefly of the bleached and crumbled shells of the landsnails, which still feed in innumerable multitudes on the herbage of the grassy plains.

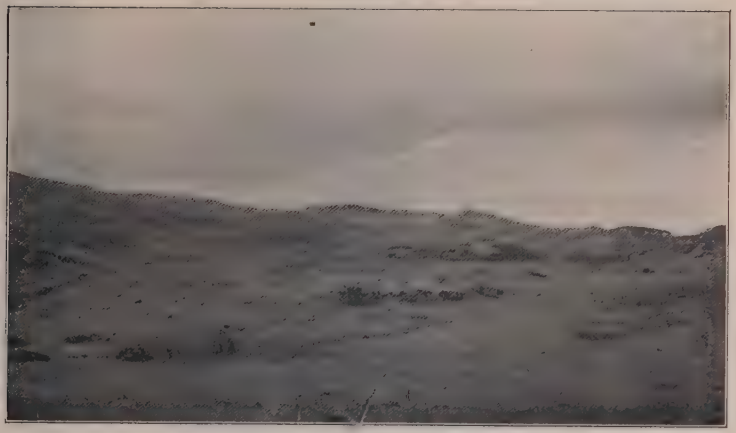
The great ice age has also left its mark, for the glaciers from the hills of Mull reached out over the Sound, and, as they melted, boulders of red granite, scraped from the Ross, dropped out of the ice along the eastern shore of Iona, where

* Similar remains are known in the peat of Uist and other now treeless islands.

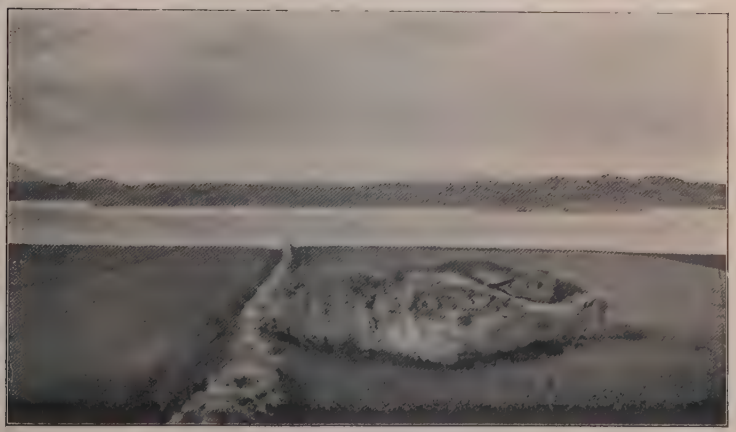
they still lie, both large and small. By far the largest is a gigantic flat block, 27 feet by 18, now all grey and lichen-covered, lying a quarter of a mile north of the Cathedral, midway between the road and the shore (Plate 3). We shall see later that this boulder has a further interest in connection with the site of St. Columba's monastery.

Geologists tell us that the islands nearest Iona were formed in the great earth-changes of the Tertiary epoch, when the face of the globe attained more or less its present configuration. The granite of Mull, and the basalt of Staffa and the Dutchman's Cap and the other singular-looking Treshnish Isles burst in molten eruptions out of the earth. The basalt islands are all that is left above water of an enormous plain of hardened lava, the rest of which has been broken up and engulfed again by the devouring sea. All this took incalculable ages of time, and organic life alternately flourished and was overwhelmed. Leaves of forest trees distinctive of the Tertiary age are found pressed and recognizable in the rocks at Ardtun, near Bunessan, in the Ross of Mull.

Iona itself is enormously older than these adjoining islands, and than the highest mountains and most of the dry land of the globe. We have reversed the usual geological order, and so come now to the beginning of Iona, which is almost part of the beginning of the earth itself. When our planet, from a flaming mass of combustion like the sun, shrivelled into a globe with a solid crust, and the first oceans condensed in the hollows of its hot surface—then it was that the Archæan rocks of which Iona and the Outer Hebrides consist were formed on the sea-bottom. They contain no fossils; for, so far as is known, no living creature as yet existed in the desolate waste of waters or on the primeval land. They are hard, rugged, and twisted; and in Iona, as elsewhere, marble has been developed by the vast heat and pressure they have undergone. The Iona marble, which is quarried in



THE HERMIT'S CELL (P. 106).



THE GREAT BOULDER.

the south-east of the island, is a fine ornamental stone, whose prevailing colour is green, from the mineral serpentine. It is described in *The Quarry*, December 1907, as "an ophicalcite, resembling the green Connemara marble and the Verde Antico of the ancients," and as suitable for interior but not exterior use in the British climate. Pebbles of green serpentine, sometimes very fine and translucent, are washed up on the shore of the Bay of the Coracle, south-west of the quarry. They are the "Iona stone," which is carved into small ornaments, and used to be thought a preservative against drowning.

It may here be mentioned that the red granite of the Ross of Mull is the chief material of the Cathedral and the ruined ecclesiastical buildings of Iona. In recent times it has been used for important work in London; but it is difficult to ship it from this iron-bound and stormy coast.

CHAPTER II.

THE PICTS AND SCOTS.

THE natives of Iona and the other Western Isles are of the same race as the Highlanders of the mainland, and akin to the Irish and the Manx. All are descended from the ancient Gaelic Celts, whose language survives among them to a greater or less extent. The Gaelic Celts were the first wave to enter the British Isles of the tide of Aryan migration that rolled westward across Europe in prehistoric times. They brought the use of metal into Britain, thus inaugurating a bronze age which is conjectured to have lasted from about 1300 to about 300 B.C. Their bronze ornaments which have been found exhibit that Celtic art whose Christian development is represented in Iona by the patterns carved on the stone crosses.

The aborigines of the British Isles before the Celts are considered to have been a Mediterranean race of sun-worshippers related to the Iberians of Spain, and who had got no farther than the use of stone implements. Numbers of these implements used by the workmen who shaped and reared the pillars of Stonehenge have been disinterred there. On this and astronomical grounds, Stonehenge has been assigned by Sir Norman Lockyer to somewhere near 6000 B.C., which would be about the time of the patriarchs Jacob and Joseph. There are arrangements of standing stones of similar kind here and there from one end of Great Britain to the other, including some in Mull.

The Druids of the Gaels are believed to have been originally the wizard priests of these aborigines. The Gaels over-

came the earlier race, but feared their sorcerers, and resorted to them. Thus Druidism passed to the Gaels, among whom it survived until overthrown in Ireland by St. Patrick and in Scotland by St. Columba. Most of our knowledge of Gaelic Druidism is derived from old Irish literature and folklore.* It is now thought that the Gaulish disciples of Druidism who, according to Julius Cæsar, used to go to Britain to learn the mysteries, really resorted to Ireland.

The little that Adamnan tells us about the Druids of Scotland agrees with what is known about the Irish ones. Thus the Pictish Druids bewitched wells, which were worshipped; they turned wind and weather against Columba, only to find that the Saint had greater power; they enjoyed high position at the royal court. Adamnan, like other old Irish writers, calls them *magi* in his Latin, and conversely *druidh* is Gaelic for a magician, soothsayer, "wise man," etc., as may be seen in the Gaelic Bible.

The Irish Druids were an official class of diviners and sorcerers, who wore white robes and cut their hair in a magic tonsure. There is no evidence that they offered human sacrifice, held the oak in special reverence, or taught transmigration of the soul, like the Druids of Gaul. Like other ancient races of fallen man, they paid adoration to the rising sun, and both in Ireland and Scotland the feast of Beltane was kept with sun-worship and fire ceremonies on the 1st of May. It seems probable that a human victim was originally sacrificed at Beltane, but that this savage rite became obsolete before Christianity appeared on the scene.

The Gaels had other gods, who were of the nature of fairies or bogies. Some were supposed to dwell in wells and fountains of water, which were accordingly worshipped. St. Patrick found the wild Irish worshipping and offering gifts to a well called Slan. St. Columba, on a missionary journey

* Joyce's *Social History of Ireland* gives an account and references. Cf. Rhŷs's *St. Patrick*, and for the origin of Druidism Rhŷs and Pikorny.

among the Picts, heard of a well which caused disease through being bewitched by Druids, and Adamnan says that "foolish men whose senses the devil had blinded worshipped it as a god." The Saint came to the well, blessed it with uplifted hand while the Druids stood looking on, and then fearlessly bathed his hands and feet in it and drank of it with his companions, and thenceforth its waters were beneficent. If we but knew where it was, we should probably find it called St. Columkill's Well to this day, like so many in the west and north of Scotland. Tradition points out both holy wells and magic wells in Iona, which flows with springs of water.

Earth-gods or demons were worshipped, who dwelt in smooth round hillocks, and were called sidhe (*shee*) or sithean (*sheean*). The same designation was given to the haunted hill itself, and sithean now signifies a fairy mound. There are several sithean mounds in Iona, St. Columba's angel hill being the most famous of them. The sithean were believed in as fairies when Paganism with its worship of them had become a thing of the past. The banshee, or woman-spirit, whose ghostly voice wails for an approaching death among mortals, is one of the tribe.

The pagan Irish believed in a kind of heavenly fairy-land, to which a few heroes and other favoured mortals were carried off, but nothing more; no future life for all. It was reserved for Christ to bring "life and immortality to light through the gospel." Little is known of the modes of worship among the Gaels, but in some cases they had stone idols, for St. Patrick had to deal with a famous one. Animals, such as pigs, were sometimes sacrificed by the Irish Druids. Worship largely consisted of gifts of food, and some startling customs of this kind survived or re-appeared among the Celts of later times. Thus in Iona, down to about the end of the eighteenth century, the "great porridge" was cast into the western bay with solemn ceremonies at midnight before Maundy Thursday, as an offering

PLATE 4. THE SPOUTING CAVE.

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to the sea,* that it might wash up enough seaweed for the second spring ploughing.

The Druids, with the bards, and brehons or lawyers, were the teachers of all knowledge in ancient Ireland. Their religious rites were superstitious and sometimes licentious, but they doubtless taught also some of the natural virtues which the heathen value. The name of Druid was not in itself of evil repute among the early Christians of Ireland, if we may judge from some old verses written in St. Columba's name, in which he repudiates the silly charms and omens of the Druids, and declares Christ to be his druid. The passage is quoted from Skene's *Celtic Scotland*.

"It is not with the *sreod* our destiny is,
Nor with the bird on the top of the twig,
Nor with the trunk of a knotty tree,
Nor with a *sordan* hand in hand.

* * * * *

"I adore not the voice of birds,
Nor the *sreod*, nor a destiny on the earthly world,
Nor a son, nor chance, nor woman;
My druid is Christ the Son of God."

The Gaelic Celts were followed into Britain, after perhaps a thousand years, by the Cymric Celts, or Britons, now represented by the Welsh, who crossed from Gaul, it is thought, about 300 B.C. The Cymri and Gaels are sometimes distinguished as the P and Q Celts, from these sounds in their respective languages, Q now being written C in Gaelic. Thus a "son" is *ap* (anciently *map*) in Welsh, but the *p* became *q* in Gaelic, giving *mac* (anciently *maq*), and so with Welsh *pen*, Gaelic *ceann*, the "head," and other words. It is now thought that the ancient Britons did not adopt Druidism, like the Gaels before them, but kept their own Aryan religion and gods until—much earlier than the Gaels—they became Christian.

* This is described in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, and is still told of in the island.

The Gaels of Ireland became known as Scots and the people of North Britain as Picts, though the geographical distinction was not absolute, for there were some Picts or Cruithnigh in northern Ireland. It is a disputed question whether the Pictish language in Scotland, which gave St. Columba some trouble in his missionary work, was a survival of the speech of the ancient inhabitants before the Gaels, or only old Gaelic in which the change from P to C had not taken place.

The Romans conquered the Britons, but failed against the Picts of Caledonia, whom Latin writers describe as tattooed savages. The Britons became Christian under the Romans; Ireland was left alone by them. We now draw nearer to St. Columba, whose great-great-grandfather, Niall of the Nine Hostings, was High King of Ireland at royal Tara at the end of the fourth century after Christ. He was the heathen king of a heathen land, but in his reign the British Christian lad Patrick was a slave in Connaught. King Niall was killed in 405, according to old Irish annals. Five years later Rome was taken by the Goths, and the Roman forces in Britain were recalled for more vital duties. Then followed the famous raiding of Britain by the Picts and Scots, the latter doubtless crossing over from Ireland to join their allies where the two countries are only twelve miles apart, at the south end of Argyllshire. Meanwhile St. Patrick escaped from Ireland to Gaul, and now he returned as a missionary bishop, and converted the land of his former captivity from Druidism to Christ. He obtained toleration from Leary (Laoghaire), son of Niall, the reigning king, and baptized his brother Conall, Columba's great-grandfather, who is said to have been afterwards done to death by the "old folk." After the conversion of Ireland came the paganizing of Christian Britain by the Saxon invaders, and—very important for us—the colonizing of Argyllshire by the Christian Scots or Irish about the year 500, some twenty years before Columba was born.

The houses in Kintyre, the southern peninsula of Argyllshire, can be seen from the Antrim coast opposite. Here the Scots came over, settling in Kintyre and the island of Isla and spreading northward in the Isles as far as Tiree, Iona, and Mull, and to a corresponding point on the mainland. They called their state Dalriada from the Irish tribal district they came from, and later it got the name of Argyll, Land of the Gael. The Scots eventually became so strong that the whole country acquired the name of Scotland from them, but this was not until several centuries after Columba. In his day Scotland was called Alba or Alban by the Irish (as it still is in Gaelic). Scotia was a name for Ireland, and a Scot signified an Irishman, or an Irish settler in Alba.

Dalriada was ruled by a chief, or petty king, probably under the over-lordship of the king of the Picts, on whose borders the Scots had settled. The following are the Dalriadan kings down to Columba's time:—(1) Loarn Mor, the eldest of the three brothers who headed the migration from Ireland, and who were the sons of King Erc of the Irish Dalriada. Loarn's name is perpetuated in Lorne, the beautiful district in central Argyllshire among whose lochs and hills the modern pilgrim to Iona comes down by rail to Oban. Loarn's daughter Erca was Columba's grandmother, and when the Saint came to Scotland he came among his own kin, although he separated himself in his lonely island in order to reach the heathen to the north. (2) Fergus, Loarn's youngest brother, succeeded him as king of Dalriada; then (3) Domhangart, son of Fergus, and (4) Comgall, and (5) Gabhran, sons of Domhangart. Gabhran was killed in a disastrous battle with the Picts three years before St. Columba's arrival from Ireland, and his nephew Conall, son of Comgall, was reigning as sixth king, probably in Kintyre in refuge from the Picts, when Columba came to Iona.

There are indications that before this reverse the Scots of Argyllshire had brought their new home into touch with the Irish Church. In an ancient life of St. Bridget we hear of

her receiving her last communion from a holy priest called Ninidh, of Mull, an Irishman who seems to have gone to Mull on the service of God, but to have revisited Ireland in 523, the year St. Bridget died. The name Kilninian, formerly written Kilnoening, is attached to a place on the Mull coast north of Iona, behind Gometra and Ulva, and this may be "Ninidh's Church," the scene of his mission.

Two of St. Columba's early friends, the abbots Kieran and Brendan, reached Scotland before him, though their work there was but temporary, and they returned to Ireland as their home. St. Kieran's sojourn was in Kintyre, the oldest part of the Irish settlement, where he lived and prayed in a cave which is still pointed out near Campbeltown. He is the patron saint of Argyllshire, and a hill in Iona bears his name, doubtless from ancient times. He seems to have extended his activities also to Cornwall, where his name has become Piran, but his great work was at Clonmacnois, in central Ireland. Kieran died before Columba left Ireland, but the latter subsequently paid a visit to Clonmacnois Monastery, and Adamnan describes the honourable and affectionate welcome he received there.

St. Columba's other friend, the famous sailor-monk, Brendan of Clonfert, is said to have established two early monasteries in places believed to be in the Hebrides—one in lonely Tiree, about the time that Columba began his Irish career at Derry, and another in "Ailech," which seems to be Eileach an Naoimh,* otherwise written Elachnave, one of the little Garvelloch Isles between Jura and Mull. The neighbouring islet bears the name of Cùil-Bhrannain (Brendan's Retreat). Elachnave contains a Columkill's Well, and ruins of beehive cells and an oratory of the most ancient kind, with a burial-ground. We may suppose that this was first St. Brendan's and afterwards Columba's monastery, for

* Cell of the Saint. Eileach means a stone fort, and also the stone cell of a monk or hermit, and the name was probably given to this little islet from the monastic buildings in it.

PLATE 5. IONA FROM THE SOUND. *Page* 16.

PLATE 6. THE CATHEDRAL AND ST. ORAN'S.

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lachnave is thought to be also the Hinba Island where olumba had a branch house from Iona. The Pictish oubles of the year 560 may have forced the previous ccupants to abandon the place. On a subsequent occasion, rendan and three other sainted abbots came from Ireland see Columba, and found him at Hinba.

Ireland was the scene and source of much Christian ctivity at this early period. Conversion of life did not go ry deep among the people as a whole, but in many arts it did; and one sign of this was a great surrender souls to God's service in monastic life. This form of e St. Patrick introduced from Gaul, whither it had me direct from its first homes in Egypt and Syria, the other end of the Mediterranean. "The sons of e Scots became monks, and their princes' daughters rgins of Christ, in numbers more than I can count," rites the Apostle of Ireland, in his letter to Coroticus. nder monastic discipline — which was followed from e first at Iona—all possessions were held in common the community, and all the brothers obeyed a chosen perior, whom they called their abbot or father. They med at imitating the voluntary poverty and lowliness our Lord's holy life on earth; such an imitation as He lled the rich young man to when He invited him, if he ould be perfect, to sell all, and, taking his cross, follow im. Monks occupied themselves in psalmody and other ayer, in the labour necessary for their own support and r works of charity, and—in the Western Church especially in active ministry, education, and missionary work. Some ere ordained priests, while others remained laymen, the oportion of priests being larger in Western than in Eastern onasteries. Since these early times, the Religious life—, the "bound" life of irrevocable dedication—has widened to a still more varied field of usefulness for both men d women. Its fundamental principles, however, remain thing more nor less than the poverty, chastity, and

obedience of the parent institutions of the fourth century in the East.

An old Irish monastery was not a single large building, but a village of little huts and one or more churches, surrounded by a wall or rampart, as a boundary beyond which the brothers might not go save by permission. Such are the monasteries of Egypt and Syria to this day, and such they were in the Celtic Church of Ireland and Scotland, including the early monastery in Iona. The Celtic monks also copied the Eastern fathers of the desert in the severity of their fastings, night watchings, and other austerities. Between Patrick's time and Columba's, the great Italian monk St. Benedict recast and softened the traditional system, but his influence did not touch the early Celtic Church.

The *hermits* call for mention, for the Irish annals name several hermits of Iona, and they have left traces of themselves in the nomenclature and antiquities of the island. A hermit is a monk who lives alone, praying, working, fasting, and going through all his daily round in the solitude of some little cell and its precincts, sometimes far away from every one, sometimes near a church or monastery. The word "monk" means a solitary in Greek, and "hermit" means a dweller in a desert. The first hermits went into solitude in the deserts of Egypt in the fourth century, at the end of the great heathen persecutions, and community monasteries arose from the gathering together of hermits. Such solitaries still live near some Greek and Russian monasteries, and there were many in the old Irish Church. It would be unfair to say that these ancient hermits were useless, if they prayed and fasted for the world out of pure hearts. This they did, and more, for men came to them for spiritual help in their troubles and sins, and some anchorites thus exercised a very real ministry to souls. Besides this they studied and wrote, and worked at useful handicrafts, just as monks in community did.

There is extant an old Irish rule for anchorites, under the

itle of the Rule of Columkill.* It is not his work, for he and is monks were not anchorites, and did not live the life it escribes; but it may quite well have come from Iona at some ater date, when hermit life was one of the features of the lace. The anchorite is looked upon as a monk living in eclusion from his brethren, yet with recognized ties with hem. "Whatsoever little or much thou possessest of anyning, whether clothing, food, or drink, let it be at the senior's ommand and disposal, for it is not befitting a religious to ave any distinction of property. . . . Let a fast place with ne door enclose thee. A few religious men to converse with hee of God and His testament; to visit thee on days of olemnity; to strengthen thee in the testaments of God, and he narratives of the Scriptures. . . . Let thy servant be a iscreet, religious, not tale-telling man, who is to attend coninually on thee, with moderate labour of course, but always eady. Yield submission to every rule that is of devotion. A mind prepared for red martyrdom. A mind fortified and tedfast for white martyrdom. Forgiveness from the heart to veryone. Constant prayers for those that trouble thee. 'ervour in singing the office for the dead. . . . Three labours n the day, viz., prayers, work, and reading. . . . The love of God with all thy heart and all thy strength. The love of thy eighbour as thyself."

* Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. II. Part I., pp. 119-121.

CHAPTER III.

ST. COLUMBA COMES TO IONA.

ST. COLUMBA was the son of Feidhlimidh, or Phelim, son of Fergus, son of Conall Gulban, son of King Niall. Phelim married Eithne, a lady who was also descended from ancient kings. They made their home at Gartan, by a mountain lake in Donegal, where the wolves howled on the hillside in the winter nights, and there on Thursday the 4th of December, 521, this child was born. The Gaelic folklore of the Hebrides still speaks of "Thursday, the day of kind Columkill," as an auspicious day of the week. Eithne had already dreamed one night of a robe of the hue of all lovely flowers, which an angel gave her, only to take it again from her reluctant hand and let it float away through the air, expanding beyond the plains and overtopping the mountains and forests. Then came the promise of an illustrious son, who should be numbered among the prophets of God and lead innumerable souls to the heavenly country.

The quaint old Irish Life of the Saint written, it is supposed, in the tenth century as a sermon for his festival says:—"Noble then was the family of Columkill in respect to the world, viz., of the race of Conall, son of Niall, was he. He was eligible to the kingship of Erin according to family, and it would have been offered to him if he had not abandoned it for God."

The child was baptized Colum, "Dove," of which Columba is the Latin form. A priest, the good Cruithnechan, was chosen for his foster-father, and received him into his home to bring him up for his parents. It was the Gaelic custom for chiefs and nobles thus to give their children to be

PLATE 7. SUNSET FROM THE NORTH SHORE.

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fostered" in some humbler home of the clan, whose leaders and their followers were thus knit together in closer ties. Adamnan tells how the good priest, on coming home from the evening service one night, beheld a heavenly light glowing above the babe asleep in his cradle and recognized it as a sign of his future sanctity. Columba had a brother and sisters, of whom little is known, but he himself was sent away to school when old enough, and there gained the name of Columkill, Colum of the Church, from his love for the house of God. He was educated in monastery schools at Moville in the north and Clonard on the Boyne, under two famous saints of the name of Finnian, with an interval during which he was taught by the bard Gemman, in Leinster.

At Clonard, Columba is said, by old Irish tradition, to have had among his school-fellows the saintly Brendan, Cainnech, and Comgall, who were associated with his after history, and Kieran, mentioned in the preceding chapter. St. Cainnech, or Kenneth, was Abbot of Agaboe and a lifelong friend of Columba, whom he used to visit in Scotland. Both he and Comgall, like Brendan, are said in their Lives to have had monasteries in Tiree. The name Kilchainnich, Church of Kenneth, is found in Tiree and also in Iona, where it designates the site of an ancient chapel and graveyard. Inchkenneth, St. Kenneth's Isle, lies to the north of Iona.

St. Comgall became the founder of the famous monastery of Beannchor, or Bangor, at the mouth of Belfast Lough, whence he sent forth the first Irish missionaries to the continent of Europe—St. Columbanus of Luxeuil and Bobio, St. Gall, or Cellach, the apostle of Switzerland, and their little band of companion monks. This mission left Ireland seven years before St. Columba's death in Iona and St. Augustine's arrival in England, when the three monasteries of Bangor in Ireland, Iona, and the British Bangor on the Dee "were the three great lights of Celtic Christianity in the British Isles."

From Clonard school Columba went to St. Mobhi's monastery of Glasnevin, near Dublin, where he probably

pronounced his monastic vow, being then about twenty years of age and a deacon. His abbot sent him to Bishop Etchen of Clonfad to be ordained to the priesthood, and he speedily began his career as a leader. Returning to his native north, he founded his first monastery in 545, the year after Mobhi's death. The site chosen was at Derry, where he converted to his purpose a hill-fort given him by his admiring relations of the clan of the Northern Neills. The young abbot began to make his mark in the Irish Church, and formed monastic communities of his increasing disciples at Swords, near Dublin; Kells, in Meath; Durrow, in the south, and elsewhere. The eighteen years thus passed seem to be well summarized by the old Irish Life of the Saint, which relates his departure for Scotland "when he had made the circuit of all Erin, and had sown faith and religion; when numerous multitudes had been baptized by him; when he had founded churches and establishments, and had left in them seniors, and reliquaries, and relics of martyrs."

Thus as Columba verged towards forty he found himself at the head of a great religious order, and exposed to the vicissitudes of public life. His clan were jealous for him, and in the year 561 they took up arms to avenge certain wrongs done to him by Diarmaid, the head of the Southern Neills and King of Ireland. The result was a fierce tribal battle, in which the king's people were routed with great slaughter. The Annals of the Four Masters (which place the affair six years too early) say that "it was in revenge of the killing of Curnan, son of Aedh, while under the protection of Columkill, that the Clanna-Neill of the North and the Connaughtmen gave this battle of Cooldrevny to King Diarmaid; and also on account of the false sentence which Diarmaid passed against Columkill about a book of Finnian which Columkill had transcribed without the knowledge of Finnian, when they left it to the award of Diarmaid, who pronounced the celebrated decision, To every cow belongs its calf, etc."

This entry of the annalist refers to the popular legend of the quarrel between St. Finnian of Moville and his pupil for the possession of a psalter which Columba had copied secretly from one belonging to Finnian. The fuller story is that Columba, having raised his clan in anger at the king's two offences, was charged with the bloodshed that ensued, and condemned by an ecclesiastical sentence to leave Ireland and save heathen souls in reparation for the deaths he had caused.

The deceit and passion of the psalter incident seem unlike Columba as we know him from the best authorities, and in the absence of any really early evidence for the story, it is best regarded as a romance which has found its way into the annals. As Dr. Skene observes, it "bears the stamp of spurious tradition." The outrage of seizing the fugitive from under Columba's sacred protection is more convincing in itself and as a cause of battle, whether the Abbot gave any instigation to his clan in the matter or not. This offence of Diarmaid's, moreover, is mentioned as the sole cause of the battle by an earlier annalist, Tighernach.

What happened next can only be conjectured. Adamnan says that Columba left Ireland two years after the battle of Cooldrevny, which he mentions merely as a date; but elsewhere he states that Columba was once excommunicated by a Synod at Teltown, but on his appearing in person some of the assembly took his part and the sentence was revoked. Adamnan describes the accusations as trivial and says they were eventually found to be untrue. He tells neither when nor why the Synod met, but probably the discomfited king convened it after Cooldrevny * to punish the cause of his woes, and the abortive charges against Columba were accusations of sinful complicity in the battle. Teltown was a royal seat in King Diarmaid's country of Meath. The legend of banishment could easily grow from this trial, and there may have been an element of voluntary penance in his motive for

* Archbp. Ussher thus places it, in his *Antiquitates* (pp. 469, 531).

going to Scotland two years later, but that he was not under banishment in Iona is plain from the freedom with which he revisited his native shores whenever he had occasion to do so.

The early accounts represent the voyage to Scotland as prompted by pure missionary zeal, such as is undoubtedly manifested in all the after life of the Saint. According to the Irish Life, "he meditated going across the sea, to preach the Word of God to the men of Alba, and to the Britons, and to the Saxons. He went in good spirits until he reached the place the name of which to-day is Hii Coluim Cille." And Adamnan, writing amid the local traditions of Iona Monastery less than a century after the Founder's death, says that Columba "sailed forth in the second year after the battle of Cooldrevny, wishing to make a pilgrimage for Christ from Scotia to Britain," where "he lived for thirty-four years an island soldier." The beautiful description of the Saint which he adds cannot be omitted—"Not a single day could he pass without applying himself to prayer, reading, writing, or some manual labour. By day and by night, without intermission, he was engaged in such unwearied exercise of fasts and vigils that the burden of any one of these labours in particular might seem to be beyond human endurance. Meanwhile he was dear to all, ever showing a cheerful, holy countenance, and was gladdened to his inmost heart by the joy of the Holy Ghost." Other indications lead us to think of Columba at this turning point of his career as a tall and active man, able to do and to endure, skilful to handle not only the pen of the scribe, but the sail or oar; a bard too, who could compose a Gaelic song or Latin hymn and sing it to the harp. His voice was splendid when uplifted in the psalmody of the divine office, which he dearly loved.

Columba embarked from Derry with the customary twelve companions from among his Irish monks. One of them was his uncle, the priest Ernan, and two others his first cousins, the brothers Baithen and Cobthach; another was

the Abbot's faithful attendant, Diormit. The rest were Scandal (a distant cousin of the Saint), Rus and Fechno his brother, Luguid Mocuthemne, Echoid, Mochonna, Cairnaan, and Grillaan.

The vessel for the voyage was the usual Irish coracle of oxhide stretched over wickerwork, propelled by sail and oars. They turned their prow towards Scotland and on Whitsun Eve, the 12th of May 563, they stepped out on to the shore of the Bay of the Coracle at the south end of Iona.

Tradition says that before he got to Iona the Saint landed on Oronsay, but on climbing the hill and catching sight of the Irish coast on the horizon he pushed off again for further north. Then from the Bay of the Coracle he again mounted a height—that which lies to the west of the bay—and beheld only the unbroken expanse of ocean. The separation demanded by his spirit of missionary renunciation was attained, and thenceforward Iona was his home. Dubh Iartach lighthouse stands as a tall monument where his searching eye swept the horizon, and where he stood on the hilltop there has been from time immemorial a conical heap of stones, whose name, Càrn Cùl ri Eirinn or Cairn of the Back to Ireland, reminds us of this historic farewell to a dearly loved Fatherland. Some further considerations on the origin of the title Cùl ri Eirinn will be found at the end of Chapter XI.

According to the old Irish Life two bishops met Columba when he landed in Iona and demanded his submission to them, but it was revealed to him that they were not really bishops, and on his exposing them they left the island.* A later writer improves on this by making them Druids disguised as bishops. It is doubtful if the island was inhabited

* From this story, and an invocation of "the seven bishops of Hii" in a litany attributed to Oengus the Culdee, and what the Bollandists consider an impossible identification of St. Oran of Iona with an earlier Oran in Ireland, Dr. Skene (in *Celtic Scotland*) concludes that the Church was founded in Iona before Columba. Mr. C. Plummer, in his edition of Bede, Vol. II. p. 132, says that the authorities for this "are too late to be of much value," and therewith dismisses the idea.

at all at this particular period of unsettlement on the Dalriadan frontier.

An old Irish annalist tells us that Conall, the reigning Dalriadan king, made a donation of Iona to the Saint. The Venerable Bede's statement that it was King Brude of the Picts who gave him the island probably means that the powerful Brude, as over-lord, confirmed the grant of the lesser king. Part of the motive of Columba's mission to Scotland may have been the reconciling of the hostile and victorious Picts with his countrymen the Dalriadan Scots, who seem to have been in danger of extermination after their late defeat.

On that first Saturday evening at the Bay of the Coracle, the Abbot and his twelve would sing "the vesper praises of God," as was ever their wont; and next morning, Whitsunday, they would celebrate their Pentecostal Eucharist, the necessaries for which would certainly be part of the freight of the missionaries' boat. They doubtless soon found their way to the eastern plain of the island, where the square-towered mediæval cathedral now forms so conspicuous a landmark. Built about the year 1200, it is almost as near to us as to Columba, who was more than 600 years earlier. Few churches of his day remain in existence in the world. One is the great Sancta Sophia, which was then in its first magnificence, while its builder, the Emperor Justinian, still sat on the imperial throne at Constantinople. It is now a Mahommedan mosque, but there was no such religion when Columba landed in Iona: its fanatical Prophet was born at Mecca six or seven years later. To come nearer home, the Saxon tribes were still invading and paganizing what was not yet known as England, and driving the ancient British Church into the west. Gregory the Great, who later set his priestly heart on their conversion, was as yet an unknown young law-student in Rome. St. Kentigern, first Bishop of Glasgow, was in exile in Wales, but was soon to return to his see, and take

PLATE 8. FLAT ROCK OF PORT NA CURAICH.

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PLATE 9. MOUTH OF PORT NA CURAICH.

Page 26.

up St. Ninian's earlier work of building up the Church in southern Scotland. The north remained for Columba.

The newly arrived monks proceeded to make themselves at home in Iona. For reasons which will be given at the end of the book, it would seem that they built a quarter of a mile north of the Cathedral, on the plain overlooking the Sound. They probably had speedy accessions to their number from Ireland, and were then able to complete their monastery. The wood and wattle huts of the brothers must have been well built to keep out the wind and driving rain, but were doubtless rude and comfortless enough. The Abbot's cell stood at the top of the slope, above the rest. There were at least two larger buildings—the church and refectory—built in the Irish way of the same materials as the cells. Bede describes Bishop Finan of Lindisfarne, who was a monk from Iona, as "building a worthy cathedral, yet not of stone, but entirely of sawn wood interwoven with rushes, after the manner of the Scots." As will be shown later, it is part of the supposition that the refectory was built over the great table stone mentioned on page 8. The mill, barn, and other farm buildings, and a line of earthen dykes enclosing the whole on the landward side completed the work. Adamnan incidentally mentions one of St. Columba's monks going outside the *vallum* or wall of the monastery to kill an ox. It can also be gathered from his pages that the first buildings were of the perishable materials referred to above; hence, when they were burned by the Danes two centuries after the Founder's death, they left no trace remaining.

From the supposed site of the Abbot's cell, near the house Clachanach, the view of the broad stretch of water at the head of Iona Sound, and of the cliffs and mountains of Mull beyond, is sometimes of surpassing beauty—above all, perhaps, on a clear winter afternoon, when the expanse of sea is blue and foam-flecked beneath the north wind, and the hills surmounting the dark coast over the waters are white with freshly fallen snow. Columba used to look on it all from his

doorway with interceding heart full of the needs of the wild men beyond, to whom he was sent.

The monastery was a busy hive of men, engaged, between their times of common prayer, in the most varied pursuits for the welfare and objects of the brotherhood. Something has already been said on the inward spirit of the Religious life, but it remains to picture its outward form. The Celtic monk shaved the front half of his head, letting the hair grow behind; this tonsure was the badge of his servitude to God. He wore a cassock of undyed wool, with a hooded cowl over it. On his admission he took "the monastic vow," as Adamnan calls it, kneeling in the oratory. Thenceforward he was one of the *muinntir* or family of which the abbot was the father and the monastery the home.

The hours for divine service regulated the day. At midnight the bell summoned to Matins and Lauds in the church.* The appointed psalms were chanted with collects between them, and followed by *Te Deum* on Sundays in a shorter form than ours, Psalms 148 to 150, and *Gloria in excelsis*. These features of the night office are gathered from the Bangor antiphoner, an old Irish service-book which was written between the years 680 and 691. The other Irish monasteries, including Iona, probably used much the same liturgical forms as Bangor. The antiphoner contains also the canticles *Benedictus* and *Benedicite*, and other familiar forms.

The services were all in Latin. The monks read their Bibles in Latin, and wrote their books and letters in it. They were, in fact, bilingual in Gaelic and Latin.

The brethren returned to the church for short services at about seven, twelve, and three o'clock, and in the evening. Adamnan speaks of the celebration of Mass or the Eucharist on the mornings of Sundays and festivals. The monks, robed in white, sang the prayers, in one of which St. Martin and

* In Adamnan's description of St. Columba's death, he hastens into church at the midnight bell, and his body is carried out after the "matins hymns," *i.e.*, Lauds.

other saints were named, including the saint of the day according to the kalendar. St. Columba and his successor Baithen, who died on the same day of June, had a joint festival. This we learn from Adamnan, who refers also to the feasts of Christmas and Easter and the fast of Lent.

Sometimes two priests officiated together as celebrants at the altar. Once a certain bishop from Munster, named Cronan, came like a simple priest to visit Iona. On Sunday, Columba invited him to celebrate with him, "that as two priests they might break the bread of the Lord together." But they no sooner reach the altar than the Abbot, suddenly discerning the rank of his guest, looks in his face, and exclaims, "Christ bless thee, brother; break thou this bread alone, according to the episcopal rite; now we know that thou art a bishop. Why hast thou hitherto tried to disguise thyself, so that we gave thee not the veneration that was thy due?"

Our Communion hymn,

> "Draw nigh, and take the Body of the Lord,
> And drink the holy Blood for you outpoured,"

is translated from the "Hymn at the Communion of Priests," in the Bangor antiphoner, so perhaps at Iona, too, they sang its beautiful words while the priests of the monastery filed up to the altar to receive the Blessed Sacrament from St. Columba's hand.

At the end of the day, the brethren assembled from their varied works for Evensong, at which *Gloria in excelsis* was again sung. Its Celtic use at Matins and Evensong came evidently from the Eastern Church, through Gaul. Adamnan has two references to the evening service of the monks, showing its performance at home and on a journey. Once Columba and a mission party from Iona sang, "after their accustomed manner, the evening praises of God" outside the gate of King Brude's castle at Inverness. And on the last day of his life, Columba went to "evening Mass," by which

Adamnan means Vespers. This wider use of the word Mass for other services as well as the Eucharist is found in other early writers.

The baptism, both of infants and of converts from heathenism, is mentioned by our authority, Adamnan; and also confession, with penance and absolution, the use of the sign of the cross, and other beliefs and practices which were general both in the Latin and Eastern Churches. The monks of Iona had also their little superstitions, like the rest of the world. This was a minor matter compared with the love for Christ and devotion of life exhibited by them.

The Celtic Church showed no doctrinal differences from other Churches, but there was a peculiarity in the position of their bishops and in the observance of Easter. In the year 463, Rome and the Continental Churches adopted an improved method of calculating Easter Day. It spread to the south of Ireland; but the more distant north and St. Columba's Scottish mission, as well as the ancient British Church, held to the old computation, so that sometimes their Easter was on a different Sunday from the rest of Christendom.

It resulted from the Gaelic clan system that the early Irish bishops found themselves chief pastors of tribes of people rather than of territorial dioceses; and, in like manner, the abbot of a leading monastery was the chief pastor of the monastic clan, as it may be called, under his jurisdiction. In some cases, such an abbot was himself a bishop; but even if he were only a priest, he had no bishop over him. In fact, presbyter-abbots like those of Iona had bishops under them, for they had monks made bishops in their monasteries, to ordain deacons and priests as required. These monk-bishops continued to live the same life as the other monks, though honour was shown to their sacred office. Somewhat similar is the position of a present-day bishop who resigns his see, and is appointed, let us say, to a canonry in a cathedral, where he takes his place and fulfils his

PLATE 10. CNOC-CULPHAIL CROFT. *Page* 30.

duties among the other canons, under the presidency of the dean.

Thus it came to pass that the organization of the early Scottish Church was monastic, not diocesan; there were many bishops, but few bishoprics. After a time the power of Iona and its abbots began to decline and bishoprics to spring up, but it was not until the twelfth century that either Scotland or Ireland was at all fully organized into dioceses.

Returning to the daily life of the monks of Iona we note that, besides worship and intercession, which were primary objects in the home life of the community, much time and labour were devoted to farming and other manual work, in which the priests joined with the rest. They grew corn on the western plain of the island, and had also a farm in Tiree to supply their growing numbers. They kept cattle and sheep and used the milk of the former, but do not seem ordinarily to have eaten flesh-meat. The monks had also a seal farm, probably on the little island of Soa, a mile and a half south of Iona.* The seals were undoubtedly valued for the table as well as for their oil. To the present day their flesh is not despised in the Western Isles, and it passed as fish when Lent was observed, but the oil is the chief profit from a seal.

Wednesday and Friday were fast-days in the monastery, as they were generally in the Church. The Abbot sometimes dispensed from the strictness of the fast out of hospitality to guests.

A horse carried the pails of milk from the byre, and there was a cart in which Columba, when old and feeble, was sometimes taken to visit the brothers at their work in the fields. Besides the work of the house and farm there were such necessary things as fishing, boat-building, carpentry,

* Adamnan tells how Erc came up from Colonsay in his boat and hid on the shore of Mull, "that by night he might sail over to the little island where the sea-calves, ours by right, are bred and breed," in order to kill enough to fill his boat. A boat crossing from Mull to Soa would be in full view down the Sound by daylight. Soa is still frequented by seals.

and metal work to be done. The hides of the cattle were used to cover coracles and the sheepskins to make writing parchment. Copying books was a very special work of monks, and at Iona, Columba and Baithen were both ardent scribes in their spare moments. Some old Irish manuscripts are ornamented in the most elaborate style of Celtic art. The Kells gospel book, now at Dublin, is one of the art marvels of the world for its decorative drawing and colour. Throughout the Middle Ages it was believed to be Columba's handiwork, but is now, through comparison with the Lindisfarne gospels and some other manuscripts, assigned to the eighth century, though quite likely to have been executed in Iona. Connachtach, an Abbot of Iona who died in 802, is called in the Irish annals "a scribe most choice," which implies an illuminator of such manuscripts.

Books were not only written but were studied and taught in monasteries. Iona was probably too remote and too much occupied in missions to be a great school for students from elsewhere, but it was a place of learning nevertheless, and produced scholars and authors such as Adamnan. The Holy Bible was the favourite subject of study, and Adamnan was acquainted with both the sacred languages in which it is written, Hebrew and Greek.

Monastic communities did their best to provide for all their needs themselves, and this must have been specially necessary in an island like Iona. But there was constant communication with Ireland and at least occasionally with the Continent, for we read how once St. Columba and Lugne fell in at Kintyre with a ship from Gaul, whose sailors told the two monks about a great volcanic eruption in Italy, of which the Abbot had already had a vision.

Under its new owners, Iona became a centre of charity, beneficence, and civilization. Men came there "seeking matters concerning medicines for the body"—Adamnan's description of one visitor—and still more came seeking medicines for the soul. Columba's treatment of a visitor

another kind is instructive. Erc MacDruid, a robber, ils across from Colonsay one day with designs on the ung seals belonging to the monastery (see p. 31 and otnote). He is detected hiding under his boat on the ore of Mull, and brought before the Abbot. "Why dost ou transgress the divine command and often steal the ods of others? When thou art in want, come to us, d thou shalt receive the necessaries thou dost ask for." ie Saint then orders some sheep to be killed and given him instead of the seals, and later, near the end of c's life, another present is sent to him, a fat sheep and pecks of corn from the monastery farm in Tiree.

There is nothing to show that Columba or his Celtic ccessors established any monastery of women in Iona. ey would be familiar with these institutions in Ireland, t seem not to have imported them into the Scottish ssion field, where life was rough and hazardous. Eilean n Ban, the Women's Island, on the Mull side of Iona und, was probably the residence of the wives and families men employed by the monks as sailors, farm labourers, . The monks did not look at all disparagingly on rried life, and were not "women-haters" in consequence their own celibacy. On the contrary, they taught and ped all people alike to live as they ought. When a contented wife wished "to cross the seas and remain some monastery of maidens," Columba told her that could not be rightly done, "for thou art bound by the of a husband so long as the husband liveth. For it uld be a sin for those whom God hath lawfully joined ether to be put asunder." Then he bids both husband wife to join with him in prayer and fasting that day, restores love between them.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ABBOT AND MISSIONARY.

WE shall only half know the monks of Iona until we have followed them into their mission field; but before doing this the personal life of their Founder claims some further reverent notice. Columba governed his children with fatherly love, which can be measured by their devoted affection for him. Much evidence of this is afforded in Adamnan's pages, though it is also apparent that there was both a stern and a fiery side to his character. The deference due from the Religious to their Abbot was expressed outwardly by their addressing him on bended knee, but he was the most diligent and led the hardest life of them all. He was resolute in subduing the flesh to the spirit, and we know from Adamnan that he slept on a bare flagstone, with another stone for pillow, to his dying day. The Irish Life says that he was accustomed, after his short night's sleep, to recite "the three fifties"—*i.e.*, the Psalter, until morning on the sand of the seashore, and that when he lay on the sand he left the print of his ribs on it, through his habit. "This was his nightwork. In the day following, however, he would frequent the canonical hours and would offer the Body of Christ and His Blood; would preach the Gospel, would baptize, bless, and anoint." And again—"Great was the humility of Columkill, for it was he himself that used to take their shoes off his monks, and that used to wash their feet for them. 'Tis he that used often to take his share of corn on his back to the mill, and that used to grind it and bring it home with him."

PLATE II. THE ANGELS' HILL FROM THE MACHAIR. *Page* 34.

PLATE 12. THE CAMUS AND CEANN NA CREIGE.

Page 34.

The Angels' Hill in Iona is associated with the memory of St. Columba in a very special degree. He was seen one day by a prying monk, says his biographer Adamnan, standing on a certain mound on the western plain absorbed in prayer, with outspread hands and eyes raised heavenward, when angels in white, flying to him with wonderful speed, stood round him for a time and then sped back to heaven. "Whence even to this day the place of that angelic conference attests the event which took place upon it by its proper name, which in Latin may be rendered Colliculus Angelorum, but in Scotic, Cnoc Angel." Adamnan goes on to tell how the Saint used often to watch in prayer in secret places of the island during the long winter nights, when every one else was asleep.

The Angels' Hill stands in the midst of the fields where the monks used to labour at the harvest, and overlooks the plain of the Machair and the broad curve of the Camus or western bay of the island. To this shore the Saint one day dispatched a brother to succour a crane from his beloved Ireland, which had dropped exhausted on the beach, and to tend it for three days till it could fly off again to the dear homeland.

Prophecies, miracles, and visions are narrated of the Saint by his biographer. The prophecies are often what Highlanders call second sight, similar to the telepathy and kindred phenomena of modern psychology. Thus one very cold winter day in Iona, Columba suddenly began to weep, and told his attendant Diormit that the brethren at Durrow were being made to labour at building, regardless of the inclement weather. At that very moment he heard in spirit Laisren, their superior, tell them to stop work and command food to be prepared for their refreshment, and that they should not only rest on that day, but whenever the weather was severe. Whereupon he told the Iona brethren about it and blessed Laisren, rejoicing greatly.

Christians know that prayer works miracles; in other

words, God's providence governs the universe, and God listens to prayer, and especially the prayers of saints. "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." Columba was once overtaken by a sudden storm at sea, and the boat was on the point of being overwhelmed by the waves, which were dashing over the side. As he laboured with the others to bail out the flood of water, they cried to him rather to pray for them ere they perished. Then as he stood in the bow beseeching the Almighty with hands outstretched to heaven, the wind dropped and the sea grew calm, and his amazed companions thanked and glorified the Lord with great wonder. At another time Diormit was sick nigh unto death, and the Abbot came to visit him in his last extremity. Standing over his bed he invoked the name of Christ, and prayed that so long as he lived the faithful brother might not be taken away. He forthwith recovered, and lived not only to minister to the dying Abbot, but many years longer.

Some of the miracles told by Adamnan are not necessarily supernatural, as when Columba triumphantly sails off down Loch Ness in the teeth of an adverse wind, which Broichan the Druid has called up against him. Others are stories which have been unconsciously improved in oft telling until they have become truly astonishing. But miracles of prayer like those mentioned above are sufficiently explained in the Gospels.

The Saint's converse with celestial spirits on the Angels' Hill is one of the visions to which Adamnan devotes the third book of his Life. In order to tell another vision he brings us to the holy deathbed of the first monk who died in Iona. The monk is not named, but is called a Briton, and a man intent on good deeds. The Abbot visited him, stood by his bed a little while, then blessed him and hastened out, unable to endure the grief of seeing him die. His spirit passed away while the Abbot was walking in the courtyard, where, with face upraised to heaven, he watched the angels

warring with hostile powers as they bore the pilgrim's soul to bliss.

Tradition makes the first monk who died in the island to have been St. Oran, thus accounting for the name of the ancient Reilig Odhrain, Oran's Burial-ground, where his body was the first committed to the earth, and where the islanders still lay their dead, to mingle with the dust of ancient saints and kings. An outrageous tale in the old Irish Life of St. Columba implies that Oran was buried alive, a willing victim, by Columba and the rest of his party on their first arrival in Iona, in order to take possession of the soil. It seems to be based on the simple fact of his being the first burial, which is the most rational account of him. In that case, he was the holy monk whom Adamnan calls a Briton above. Oran was an Irishman, a kinsman of Columba; but so was the fourth Abbot of Iona, who, nevertheless, is called Fergna Brit, *i.e.*, the Briton. According to the genealogists, Oran and Fergna belonged to the same family, which perhaps had lived or intermarried among the Britons. Or they may have come to Iona from the British monastery of Whithorn, which was frequented by Irish students.

St. Oran's name occurs in the Irish kalendar written about 800 A.D. by Oengus (or Angus) the Culdee, and a note—probably almost as old as the text—adds to his name, "from Relicc Odran in I-Choluim-chille," thus showing the antiquity of the name by which the cemetery is still called. There used to be a well near it also bearing his name, and a hill in the middle of the island is named after him. Although there is doubt about the supposition that Colonsay and Oronsay are named from Columba and Oran, there are Gaelic place-names commemorative of Oran in Colonsay, Mull, Tiree, and other islands, suggesting that he was a leading missionary and church founder under Columba in the Isles, and famous in his day and afterwards. He is described in the Irish kalendar as a priest.

The newly founded community grew apace, and even numbered Saxon converts among its members. The Irish Life of the Founder breaks into verse to tell us—

> "Illustrious the soldiers that were in Hi,
> Thrice fifty in monastic rule,
> With their curachs, across the sea,
> And for rowing, threescore men."

The monastery began to throw out offshoots, one of the earliest of which was founded in Adamnan's oft-mentioned Hinba Island, supposed to be Elachnave. The island has a precipitous coast, with a break in the cliff giving access to the interior, where the buildings mentioned on page 16 are found. The brothers in Hinba were not missionaries, but lived the secluded life of anchorites, and had charge of penitents, who were sent thither to prepare for absolution. St. Columba often visited Hinba, and once shut himself up in a cell there for three days and nights, neither eating nor drinking, absorbed in heavenly contemplation, and sometimes breaking out into spiritual songs.

At another time Columba's three old friends, Brendan, Kenneth and Comgall, with Cormac the Abbot of Durrow, came from Ireland to see him, and found him in Hinba. At their joint request, says Adamnan, "he consecrated the sacred mysteries of the Eucharist in their presence," and Brendan afterwards told his companions that he had seen a bright globe of fire shining above Columba's head as he stood before the altar consecrating the holy oblation.

Columba appointed his uncle, the priest Ernan, to be superior at Hinba, near the end of the old man's life. He had been but a short time at his post there when he felt that his end was near, and returned to Iona. As he walked feebly but joyfully up from the landing place, the Abbot came to meet him, but as they drew near one another Ernan fell dead. Two crosses were set up, one where he died, in front of the kiln for drying corn, and another where Columba stood at the moment. This

account seems to indicate that the monastery was north of the mill-stream and kiln, two landmarks that have been identified.

The first two years in Iona were doubtless a time of settling down, building, and preparation, and then in 565 St. Columba entered on the great work of his life, the evangelizing of the Northern Picts. On his first journey to them he had as companions St. Kenneth and St. Comgall, as we learn from their respective Lives. The expedition may have been a sequel to their visit to Hinba which has just been mentioned. If so, Columba occupied Hinba and received them there very soon after his arrival in Scotland, and this is otherwise probable. Kenneth and Comgall were Irish Picts by race, and would be just the men to help Columba to get into touch with the Picts of Scotland, whose language and customs were strange to him. He showed his practical wisdom in obtaining such helpers, and also in going straight to the King of the Picts as the first step towards converting the nation.

The party made their way from Iona to the mainland, where they could then follow the Great Glen of Alba, which cleaves mountainous northern Scotland through from sea to sea, from Oban north-eastward to Inverness. The glen is a great water-way of elongated lochs, overhung by wild hills, and now connected by the Caledonian Canal, where then the missionaries would have to carry their light coracles overland from loch to loch. Finally, the winding stream of the Ness would float them swiftly down to King Brude's hill-fort, overlooking the present town of Inverness. The King shut his castle gates against them, but they flew open at the sign of the cross, and Columba, firmly overcoming the opposition of the King and his Druids, gained a hearing for his sacred message. The result was the conversion of the King, and though Broichan, his chief Druid and foster-father, continues to appear as an adversary, Brude became a steadfast friend of the Saint. His

kingdom was gradually evangelized from Iona, but it comprised the whole of northern Scotland, and years of persevering labour must be indicated by the words of Bede: "Columba came to Britain when Brude the son of Maelcon, a most mighty king, reigned over the Picts, in the ninth year of his reign, and by word and example converted that people to the faith of Christ."

The same writer, St Bede, describes the Iona missionaries in the north of England sixty or seventy years later, in a way that enables us to picture Columba and his brethren among the Picts as they gradually became Christian. "Many from the region of the Scots came daily into Britain and the English provinces ruled by Oswald, and with great devotion preached the word of faith, and those among them who had received priests' orders ministered to the believers the grace of baptism. . . . The religious habit was at that time in great veneration, so that wheresoever any cleric or monk happened to come, he was joyfully received by all persons as God's servant; and if they chanced to meet him as he was upon the way, they ran to him and bowing were glad to be signed with his hand or blessed with his mouth. Great attention, moreover, was paid to their exhortations, and on Sundays the people flocked eagerly to the church or the monasteries, not to feed their bodies, but to hear the word of God. And if any priest happened to come into the village, the inhabitants forthwith flocked together to hear from him the word of life. For the priests and clerics went into the villages on no other account than to preach, baptize, visit the sick, and (in few words) to take care of souls."

St. Comgall took advantage of the same visit to Scotland in 565 to establish a monastery in Tiree, where he remained for some time. The Isles were still dangerous, for Pictish pirates made a descent on the settlement one day when Comgall was at work in the fields. The Saint prayed

for the deliverance of his community, and they escaped being carried off by the marauders, but he seems to have given up the attempt to settle in Tiree. The Iona community, however, extended itself thither, and with more permanence than their forerunners. Columba's chief foundation in the island was Magh Lunge Monastery, probably at Soroby, on the broad bay of Hynish, facing Iona. The south end of Tiree, where it rises into the heights of Ben Hynish and Kenevara, is the most prominent part as seen from Iona. Other hills appear to the north, the low-lying land between being invisible.

At Magh Lunge, Baithen presided over a house to which penitents were sent, and a farm whose produce supplemented the smaller resources of Iona itself. There was, of course, much sailing to and fro between the two islands. Once a huge whale rose threateningly before a boat-load of monks, who hauled down their sail in a terrible fright, and, taking to the oars, pulled back to Iona, barely escaping an upset from the commotion of the water. Then Baithen, who happened to be going back to Tiree, went out, and from his boat's prow blessed the monster, and it sank into the depth and was seen no more.

Magh Lunge means the Plain of the Ship in old Gaelic, and there is a well of the same name near the north end of Iona.

Columba had other monasteries also in Tiree, but we know the name of only one of them, Artchain, meaning High Hill. It has not been identified. Findchan, the first superior, was severely rebuked by Columba for having an unfit person ordained priest by a bishop in his monastery. He lost his right hand by disease, for having used it to join with the bishop in this wrongful laying-on of hands, and he appears in the Irish kalendar of saints as "Findchan of long-continued suffering." Kilfinichan (Church of Findchan) is the title of a parish in the Ross of Mull, next to Iona.

CHAPTER V.

ST. COLUMBA'S LABOURS AND REST.

Iona and Tiree were within the territory claimed by the Dalriadan Scots, whose sixth king, Conall, is said to have granted both islands to St. Columba on his arrival. Columba must have greatly benefited the Scots by his bold and successful mission to their foes the Picts, whereby the two peoples became one in the faith, with sacred Iona as a bond between them, and the way was thus prepared for their political union. The community were pastors to the Scots as well as missionaries to the Picts, and had branch houses in both kingdoms. One in Dalriada was a "cell" or small monastery on the banks of Loch Awe amid the Argyllshire mountains, perhaps where the remains of an ancient church, dedicated to St. Columkill, stand near the southern end of the loch. Adamnan tells how Columba foresaw that Cailtan, the superior there, was near the end of his life, and recalled him to die in Iona.

Kingarth Monastery, which seems to have been under Iona's jurisdiction, was in the green island of Bute, in the Firth of Clyde. St. Blane, the traditional founder, is said to have been a disciple of St. Kenneth and St. Comgall. In the seventh century two bishops (probably abbot-bishops) of Kingarth appear in the Irish annals, and St. Ronan and two other abbots in the eighth century, when they seem no longer to have held the episcopal office. St. Ronan's name is attached to a chapel and bay in Iona.

There were some bad characters among the Scots in the Isles. Erc of Colonsay tried to steal the young seals belong-

PLATE 13. COTTAGES BY ST. RONAN'S BAY. *Page* 42.

ing to the monastery, and the sons of Conall, son of Domhnall, of the Dalriadan royal family, were "persecutors of churches" and no better than pirates. One of them, named Ioan, thrice attacked and plundered the home of a poor farmer with whom St. Columba used sometimes to lodge when on his journeys. When Ioan was carrying off his booty the third time, he met the Saint face to face on the shore of a bay in Ardnamurchan. Columba earnestly entreated the marauders to restore the goods, even following their ship up to his knees in the sea, with hands uplifted in prayer to Christ, as they pushed off, mocking and laughing at him. Retribution, however, overtook them, for a sudden storm overwhelmed their vessel between Mull and Colonsay and all were drowned.

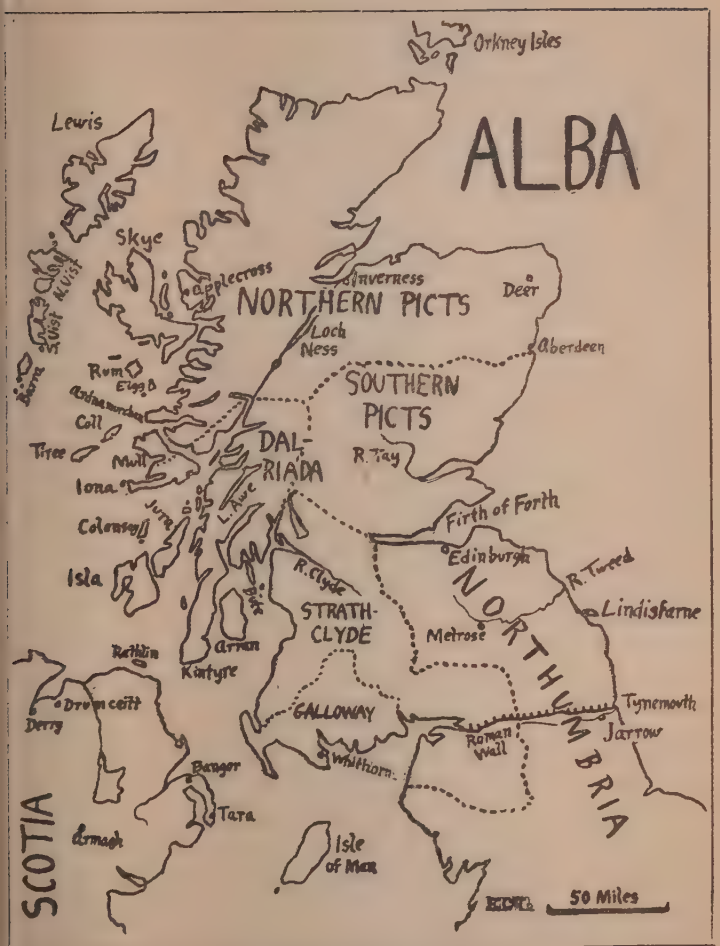
At another time Ioan's brothers, whom Columba had excommunicated for their wickedness, attacked him in Hinba, and one miscreant rushed upon him with levelled spear. The monk Finlagan threw himself in front of his Abbot, whose cowl he was wearing, and the weapon was turned by the Saint's garment. This devoted man is commemorated in the name of Loch Finlagan, in Isla, which contains St. Finlagan's Isle, with a ruined chapel dedicated to him.

Conall, son of Comgall, King of the Scots, died in 574, and Columba chose his successor, so great was the power which his character and connexions gave him in Dalriadan affairs. Adamnan tells of the angelical visitations to the Saint while staying in Hinba, which made him summon Conall's cousin Aidan, the son of Gabhran, to Iona, and "ordain" him king by laying on of hands with prayer and benediction. This is the earliest record of a royal hallowing in Britain. Aidan proved a great king in his way, and made his power felt against his Pictish, British, and Saxon neighbours. He was the ancestor of the early kings of Scotland, more than twenty of whom lie buried in Iona's ancient cemetery; an ancestor, too, through the Stewarts, of our King Edward VII.

In the year after Aidan's succession, he and St. Columba went to Ireland to attend a great national convention of chiefs and churchmen, which encamped for no less than fourteen months at Drumceitt, near Derry. Columba's great influence in this Parliament obtained Home Rule for Aidan's kingdom of British Dalriada. He exerted himself also to raise the position of women in Ireland, and got a decree passed exempting them from the barbarous duty of fighting in battle, though Adamnan had to do this over again in the following century. At Drumceitt, Columba also intervened to save the whole order of bards from expulsion from Ireland on account of their annoying exactions of hospitality for themselves and their attendants. They were put under restrictive rules instead of being suppressed; and, in gratitude for the escape, the chief bard, blind Dallan Forgaill, began a eulogy of their protector, which he completed as a lament when the Saint died. It is known as the *Amhra* (or Praises) *of Columkill*, and its remains are in the Irish Liber Hymnorum in a somewhat altered form, thought to date from the early ninth century.

This was far from being Columba's only visit to Ireland, but Iona remained his home; and the building up of a great religious centre there and the apostolic work of preaching Christ in the Highlands and Isles absorbed his energies more and more. The Pictish work may be briefly noticed under the following heads:—

The Isle of Skye.—Once Columba, absorbed in prayer in a dense wood in Skye (which now has no woods), was confronted by a fierce wild boar, pursued by hunting dogs. The terrible beast falls dead at his prayer. At another time he meets, in the same island, an aged Pictish military officer, named Artbranan, who had "kept his natural goodness all his life long." The Saint instructs him, through an interpreter, and baptizes him, just in time to anticipate his death. There are remains of a monastery bearing St. Columba's name, in Loch Columcille, in Skye.



EARLY DIVISIONS OF NORTH BRITAIN.

THE ISLE OF EIGG—a basalt island between Skye and Ardnamurchan Point—was occupied by an independent mission of Irish monks, under St. Donnan, in Columba's later years. Donnan asked Columba to be their soul's-friend, or confessor; and the Iona Abbot thereupon predicted that they would come to red martyrdom, which so fell out after his death. Adamnan speaks of Baithen being once detained at Eigg by contrary winds when Columba wanted him at Hinba.

Adamnan often refers to expeditions of Columba across the "Backbone of Britain," *i.e.*, Drum-Alban, or the Grampian range, which divided Dalriada from the Picts. In Glen Urquhart, among the wild hills that look down on the voyager on Loch Ness, he baptizes another good old heathen man like the one in Skye, Emchath by name, whose son, Virolec, also believes and is baptized, with all his house.

King Brude's fort, near the present town of Inverness, has been already mentioned. Here the Iona missionaries, led first by Columba himself, reached quite the other side of Scotland. Of the two historic hills near Inverness, Reeves favours Craigphatrick, but Skene the ridge of Torvean, as the site of Brude's castle. Both have ancient fortifications on them. Torvean may possibly be named after St. Baithen.

DEER, where Aberdeenshire juts out into the North Sea east of Inverness, makes a further point to which Columba penetrated. He came first to Aberdour, where the local chief gave the monks a site for a mission, and then he asked the chief for the Pictish fort at Deer, in which he also installed missionaries, with St. Drostan for Abbot. The legend of the name Deer is that the tears (Gaelic *deara*) of the young superior flowed at the parting with his spiritual father. All this is derived from an entry in the Book of Deer, a service-book which was written in this monastery about the year 900 and is still preserved in part. Drostan's very Pictish name suggests that Columba wisely chose him for his post, as being a native of the country.

ABERDEEN.—The church seems to have been founded by a band of missionaries sent out into Pictland by Columba late in his life. Their leader was the St. Machar of the Aberdeen breviary, which says he had previously been sent "to the island called Mull, to preach God's faith." The story of Machar is dim legend rather than history, and may or may not be true. He seems to have been the Mochonna who came to Iona with the Founder.

THE ORKNEY ISLES, at the very extremity of northern Scotland, were visited by St. Cormac. Columba, on quitting Ireland, had apparently left Cormac as Abbot of Durrow, but he devoted much of his energy to sailing about in adventurous search of "a desert in the ocean" in which to live, and sometimes touched at Iona on these voyages. He does not seem to have found his "desert," but he must have been a good explorer and pioneer for missionaries of more settled habits to follow. The Orkney Picts to whom he went seem to have been dangerous. Their chief and Columba happened to meet at King Brude's fort just before Cormac's voyage, and Columba asked the King to make the chief understand that no harm must befall the monks when they reached his country. They were thus "delivered from impending death while in the Orkneys," says Adamnan, and returned safe to Ireland, calling at Iona on the way.

Thus by land and sea the Columban monks traversed and coasted northern Scotland, from Argyllshire on the west round to the Tay or the Forth on the east, sometimes settling, sometimes only visiting at first, but sure to come again. They have left their visible traces especially in the Isles and on the seaboard, where the remains of little Celtic chapels and monastic cells and the lingering of Columkill's name show where they prayed and taught. Much of the ground was occupied in Columba's own strenuous days, when the mission had a powerful friend in King Brude mac Mailchon till his death in 584, and continued to be supported by the power of his successor Gartnaidh, who lived among the

Southern Picts on the Tay. This circumstance seems to have brought both Columba and his old companion the Irish St. Kenneth to that part of the country. The Southern Picts had long ago been evangelized by St. Ninian, but apparently without much permanent effect, and the old Irish records * say that Columba "used to teach the tribes that were about Tay, a river in Alba," and that "he subdued to benediction the mouths of the fierce ones who dwelt with Tay's high king." Kenneth built a monastery at Kilrymont, a place which became afterwards, under the name of St. Andrews, the seat of the Scottish primacy.

Besides the Dalriadan and Pictish sovereigns, Columba had another royal friend in Rydderch, the ruler of the British kingdom of Strathclyde. "King Roderc, who reigned on the rock of Clyde," Adamnan calls him, for his stronghold was built on the great rock overhanging the river below Glasgow, and still called Dùn-Breatuinn (Fort of the Britons) by the Gaelic people to the north, and in English, Dumbarton. The long-standing belief that this was St. Patrick's birthplace is not shared by his recent biographer, Professor Bury. But it certainly was the capital of Rydderch, who, "as he was a friend of the holy man, sent some secret message to him by Lugbe Mocumin, seeking to know whether he was to be slain by his enemies or not." Adamnan says the reply was an assurance that the King would die on a feather pillow. He was a Christian prince, who had been baptized in Ireland, and had gained his throne in 573 by a victory over the heathen party in Strathclyde. These enemies of religion had driven the holy bishop Kentigern, or Mungo, into Wales; but King Rydderch recalled the prelate, and restored him to his bishopric at Glasgow, where the old cathedral bears his name and the city arms display his varied emblems. The

* The Amhra with its glosses, in *Irish Liber Hymnorum* (H. Bradshaw Soc.) For Kenneth, see *The Martyrology of Oengus*, published by the same Society, p. 223.

nuch earlier labours of St. Ninian for the conversion of outhern Scotland were earnestly revived by Kentigern vhile Columba was evangelizing the heathen north.

It is pleasing to read, in the Life of St. Kentigern, of a isit paid to him by his great fellow-worker from Iona. It ook place, probably, towards the close of Columba's life, vhen the accession of King Gartnaidh, the Southern Pict, ad given a more southerly turn to his interests. The 'ay mission would bring him near Strathclyde; and he ould learn then, if not before, of the British bishop's evoted pastoral labours and strict and lowly monastic fe. Columba, then, sailed southward from his island and p the broad Clyde, past his friend King Rydderch's rock rtress, to Glasgow. Kentigern and his clergy came out meet him with chant of psalms and hymns; and, while ie Iona monks responded in joyful chorus, the two good d men greeted one another with a brotherly embrace. heir respective mission fields would give them much to nfer about; and when the time for parting came, the ishop and the Abbot exchanged pastoral staves in token mutual love in Christ, and then the Iona curachs sailed way again for the north.

Adamnan tells a pretty story which belongs to the end of olumba's life. One day when he was with King Aidan he ked the King who was going to succeed him. Aidan plied that he did not yet know which of his three elder ns it would be, whereupon the old Abbot declared that it ould be none of them, but whichever of the younger children ould rush into his lap when brought before him. So the ys are called in, and yellow-haired little Echoid runs to the bbot and throws himself into his arms. Then the Saint ssed and blessed him and said to his father, "This is the ccessor and is to reign as king after thee, and his sons will ign after him." Not very long after, the Scots took the ld against the Miathi, a British tribe, and one day St. olumba, in Iona, suddenly cried to Diormit, "Ring the

bell." He then ran to the church, followed by all the monk and as they knelt he said, "Let us now beseech the Lor earnestly for this nation and King Aidan, for at this momen they are going into battle." After praying for a while, h went out of the church and gave thanks that a victory ha been gained, though a sad one. It turned out that two of th King's elder sons and three hundred of the people had falle The death of a third son in battle with the Saxons left th young Echoid heir to the throne, to which he succeeded o his father's death in 606. The battle with the Miathi identified as the battle of Circinn in 596, the year befor Columba died.

One day in May of 597, Columba, now feeble with ag was carried in a waggon to visit the brethren at work on th western plain of the island. As they talked he told ther how, in April, he had greatly longed to pass away to Chris but chose, by God's permission, to remain a little longer, tha their Eastertide joy might not be turned to sorrow. The they knew that the mournful parting was near. His last da on earth was a Saturday in early June. He took his attendan Diormit with him to the granary, blessed the corn laid u there, and as he returned sat down to rest by the waysid Here the white horse, that faithful servant (as Adamnan cal him) that used to carry the milk pails, came up and pushed i head into the Abbot's breast, seeming to weep for him. H blessed the dumb creature, when it sadly left him, "and the going on and ascending the knoll that overlooks the mo astery, he stood for a little while on its top, and there standin and lifting up both hands he blessed his monastery, sayin 'To this place, small and mean though it be, not only th kings of the Scots with their peoples, but also rulers strange and foreign nations and their subjects, shall brin great honour in no common measure, and by the saints other churches shall no slight reverence be shown.'"

Returning to his cell, he sat "transcribing the Psalte until he came to that verse of the thirty-third psalm where

PLATE 14. PLOUGHING BESIDE THE SOUND. *Page* 50.

is written 'They who seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.' Here I must stop, he says, at the foot of this page, and what follows let Baithen write." Adamnan here remarks that this last verse which Columba penned was very applicable to the dying Saint, to whom the good things of eternity shall never be lacking, and the verse which follows was indeed very suitable to the Father who succeeded him, and was the teacher of his spiritual sons, namely, "Come, ye children, and hearken unto me: I will teach you the fear of the Lord."

After attending Vespers, Columba reclined on his bed of stone and gave Diormit some last injunctions for the community, exhorting them to brotherly love and promising them God's help and his own intercession. "After which, as the happy last hour gradually approached, the Saint was silent." At midnight the bell rang for Nocturns, and by a last effort he hastened into church and sank down before the altar. "Meanwhile, the community of monks, running up with lights, began to weep at the sight of their dying Father. And as we have learned (says Adamnan) from some who were there present, the Saint, his soul not yet departing, with open eyes upturned, looked round about on either side with wonderful cheerfulness and joy of countenance as he saw the holy angels coming to meet him. Diormit then lifts up the holy right hand of the Saint that he may bless the choir of monks." After a feeble movement of benediction with the hand he breathed forth his spirit. It was after midnight, Sunday the 9th day of June.

The weeping brethren, after the first outburst of grief, mastered themselves to chant the usual night service, the Saint lying in their midst with his face still ruddy and wonderfully gladdened as by an angelic vision. "When the matins hymns were ended, the sacred body was carried back from the church, with chant of psalms by the brethren, to the cell whence a little before he had come alive." For three days and nights they celebrated his obsequies alone, for the rolling

waves of the Sound under a great gale of wind forbade all access to the island. His body was then committed to the earth, presumably in Reilig Odhrain, and Adamnan says they set up his stone pillow as a monument at the grave. A century or two after these days of primitive simplicity, the bones were dug up and put in a portable shrine, to be kept in the church. Veneration thenceforth fixed itself on the shrine, and forgot where the grave had been. Suffice it that Iona is Columba's grave, and his dust is mingled with hers.

Twenty-two years before, as we have seen, Columba's intervention at Drumceitt saved the bards of Ireland from expulsion from their country, and now old blind Dallan Forgaill, in his Amhra, sings the praises of their benefactor in glowing terms like these :—"He who preserves us alive has died, our messenger to our Lord. Now have we no sage, no teacher to explain word-truth. He could number the stars of heaven who could tell of every noble thing which we from Columkill have heard. He was sparing in food, he checked the body's desires, a perfect sage he believed Christ, he was chaste, he was gentle, a protection to the naked, a shelter to the poor—there came none into the world more constant in remembrance of the Cross."

CHAPTER VI.

THE CENTURY AFTER COLUMBA.

It will be convenient now to base the story of Iona on a list of its abbots, from the Founder's death until the record of the names of his successors begins to fail us three centuries later. Thenceforward historical notices of the island become irregular.

1. St. Columba died in 597.

2. Baithen (597-600). By the dying Saint's own appointment he was succeeded by his cousin, St. Baithen, and the community long continued to choose its abbots from the Founder's kin, of the race of Conall Gulban, son of Niall. This was in accordance with the Irish custom of the times and the clan feeling of the Celts.

Baithen was Columba's foster son as well as his cousin, and had been a monk of his first monastery at Derry, whence he accompanied him to Iona. During Columba's life we find Baithen superintending the farming in Iona, and in charge of the branch monastery and farm at Magh Lunge in Tiree. He also appears as writing psalters at Iona, voyaging about the Isles, and acting as the Abbot's coadjutor. An old Irish authority says of his habit of constant prayer that when he ate he was wont to say, "O God, make speed to save me," between every two mouthfuls, and that when gathering corn with the monks he kept his right hand raised in supplication. As Abbot, he is called by Adamnan a holy and wise man, affable, and popular with strangers.

After only three years in office, Baithen fell in a deathly faint when praying near the altar four days before St. Columba's Feast. Amid the lamentations of the brethren,

who thought him dying on the spot, Diormit exclaimed how short a time would separate the anniversaries of the two abbots. At the words Baithen opened his eyes and breathed a prayer that he might live for the interval. It was granted, he departed on the Founder's feast day, and a joint festival of both the Saints was thenceforth kept at Iona.

3. Laisren (600-605) had been previously superior at Durrow, as appears from the vision of St. Columba told on p. 35.

4. Fergna (605-623) is sometimes surnamed Brit—*i.e.*, the Briton. He was brought up at Iona under St. Columba, and Adamnan tells a story of his once stealing into the church for secret prayer at night when all were asleep. After an hour's prayer in the side alcove, the youth saw Columba enter the church for the same purpose, shining with dazzling light.

Fergna Brit is to be distinguished from the Fergno or Virgno of Adamnan's closing chapter, who came from a monastery in Ireland to an anchorite's cell in Hinba.

In Fergna's time, on Sunday the 17th of April 617, St. Donnan, the Abbot of Eigg, and his fifty-two monks were slaughtered in their monastery by Picts. One old Irish account says they provoked the queen of the country by taking up their abode where her sheep were kept, and though the people were friendly, she said, "Let them all be killed." St. Columba's prophecy of their martyrdom has been mentioned in the previous chapter. He seems to have foreseen their danger.

5. Seghine (623-652) had a long and important tenure of the abbacy. As the Celtic Church came more into contact with the rest of the world, their old-fashioned computation of Easter began to provoke controversy. A certain Cummian, probably a monk of Durrow, advocated the Roman correction of Easter, and gained southern Ireland to the reform; but the north, under the influence of Iona, held out against the change from St. Columba's and what they believed to have

PLATE 15. TORR ABB AND THE CATHEDRAL. *Page* 54.

been St. John's practice. Abbot Seghine was a leader among the conservatives, and Cummian wrote him a learned and celebrated letter on the subject in 634. Seghine is also one of eleven "teachers and abbots of the Scots" addressed by name in a letter of the Pope-elect and clergy of Rome on the same matter, which was written in 640 and is given by Bede.

On the attitude of Iona on the Paschal question, Bede says that St. Columba "left successors distinguished for their great charity, divine love, and strict attention to their rules of discipline: following, indeed, uncertain cycles in their computation of the great festival, because, far away as they were out of the world, no one had supplied them with the synodal decrees relating to the Paschal observance; yet withal diligently observing such works of piety and charity as they could find in the Prophetic, Evangelic, and Apostolic writings."

It was in Seghine's time that Iona, having converted Scotland, began to help to convert England as well. In the year that Columba died, the Roman monk Augustine had come to Canterbury and begun the evangelization of the Saxons. St. Augustine is justly called the Apostle of England, but the work done in the country by the Scottish monks after his death was enormous. Nearest to them in the north, King Edwin reigned over Northumbria. Thither came St. Paulinus, one of Augustine's companions, with some helpers, and Edwin and multitudes of the Northumbrians received baptism—many perhaps too hastily, for when war broke out and the King was slain the Church fell with him. Meanwhile Oswald, the rightful heir to the throne, was converted to Christianity when a political refugee in Scotland, and Iona itself was almost certainly the place of his baptism. He returned to face his enemies, and on the eve of battle St. Columba appeared to him in a vision and promised him the victory which the morrow realized. St. Columba's biographer adds:—"My predecessor, our abbot Failbhe, related this

narrative to me, Adamnan, nothing doubting, and he declared that he had heard it from the mouth of King Oswald himself as he related this same vision to Seghine the abbot."

The Venerable Bede, himself a Northumbrian and born about forty years later, describes the council of the monks of Iona which sent Aidan, one of their number, to Oswald in place of an unsuccessful man who had given up the rough stubborn Englishmen in despair and had come home again to the monastery. St. Aidan was consecrated bishop and despatched to the scene in 635, and built a monastery in Lindisfarne or Holy Island, on the east coast of Northumberland. He preached to the people in Gaelic at first, while King Oswald, now a great sovereign, sat at his feet interpreting into English. The King's good life was crowned by a death which the English Church esteemed as a martyrdom, in battling for his people and faith against the common enemies of both. Aidan outlived him for some years, and continued to labour devotedly and successfully to the end.

Two other Iona monks, Finan and Colman, followed Aidan in the see of Lindisfarne, and carried on his work. But the Easter question came up in Colman's time, for they were now in contact with the Latin mission in England; and the Celtic bishop, rather than change his practice, felt obliged to return to Iona, whence he passed on to Ireland. The devoted work of the Scots, however, lived on in Northumbria, and Melrose—a daughter house of Lindisfarne—produced the great St. Cuthbert, the ninth bishop. Some two centuries later, the see was transferred from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street, and soon afterwards to Durham, where the successors of Aidan of Iona have continued ever since.

Two monks of Iona were the first bishops of the Mercians, in the Midlands of England, where Diuma, the first, died in 658, after two years' episcopate. Cellach, his successor, was forced to return to Iona, probably on account of a revolt of the Mercians against Northumbria at this

time. The see was fixed at Litchfield by the fifth bishop, St. Chad, an Englishman, but trained and sent out by Lindisfarne. They also sent his brother, St. Cedd, to be Bishop of the East Saxons. Augustine's companion, Mellitus, had been expelled from London about the year 617, and died, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 624. Cedd was bishop from 654 to 664, and reconverted the people from thirty years of heathenism, into which they had relapsed.

Thus Iona, directly and through Lindisfarne, converted or reconverted a very large part of England; and, as Bishop Lightfoot of Durham puts it, "the simplicity and devotion, the free spirit, the tenderness and love, the apostolic zeal of the missionaries of Iona," combined with "the more complete organization and the higher culture of which Rome was the schoolmistress," to form the English Church.

We have been led far from Iona and somewhat past Abbot Seghine's time. We return now to the Hebrides, to note that St. Beccan, a monk of Iona, became a hermit in the Isle of Rum at least as early as 633, when Cummian, already mentioned, addresses his Paschal epistle to Seghine and to "Beccan the solitary, a dear brother both in the flesh and in the spirit." It is evident that he was by no means dissociated from his community and their interests by the solitary life which he had chosen. There was a monastery on the adjacent island of Eigg, and Iona coracles passed near both islands in entering or issuing from the Sound of Mull, and on the route between Iona and Skye. As Beccan lived until 677, he followed with interest and prayer the whole apostolate of Aidan and his immediate successors in Iona's new mission field on the other side of Britain. "Candidus et benignus"—guileless and kindly—are the epithets in which his character is summed up.

6. Suibhne (the First), 652-657, is the only one of the first eight successors of St. Columba whose kinship to the Founder is not recorded.

7. Cummian the Fair (657-669) was Seghine's nephew. In 664 St. Colman of Lindisfarne returned to Iona "to consult with his people what was to be done," says Bede, in consequence of the conference at Whitby, which determined in favour of the Roman Easter for Northumbria. Some rather derogatory remarks on St. Columba had been made in the conference, and it was perhaps to vindicate their Founder from this slight, as reported by Colman on his arrival in Iona, that Abbot Cummian wrote his book *On the Virtues of St. Columba,* which Adamnan names and often quotes.

St. Beccan's brother, Cummian, who wrote to Seghine and Beccan in 633 in favour of the Roman Easter, is considered on that ground to be a different person from Cummian the Fair, as it would hardly be possible for the holder of such views to become Abbot of Iona as yet.

After a few years in Iona, Colman and his followers from Lindisfarne went over to Ireland, and formed a monastery in the little west-coast island of Innisbofin. Bede describes his virtues at Lindisfarne in glowing terms, and what he says of the monastery there will doubtless apply to Iona likewise. "How great was his and his predecessors' observance of poverty, how great their continence, the very place which they governed shows, for there were very few buildings besides the church found at their departure; those only, to wit, without which their life could not have been carried on. They had no money, but cattle, for if they received any money from rich persons, they immediately gave it to the poor, there being no need to gather money or provide houses for the entertainment of the great men of the world —such never resorted to the church save to pray and to hear the Word of God. The King himself, when he had the opportunity, used to come with only five or six attendants, and depart again after prayer in the church. But if perchance they took food, they contented themselves with the simple everyday fare of the brethren, and asked for naught else."

PLATE 16. PORT A' GHOIRTEIN BHIG AND CORR EILEAN.

Page 58.

8. Failbhe (669-679) saw a great extension of the Church to the north of Ardnamurchan and in the Isle of Skye, which, however, was not accomplished from Iona, but by St. Maelrubha, Abbot of Bangor, who founded his Scottish monastery at Applecross, on the mainland opposite Skye. This has been called a "further great effort from Ireland to follow up St. Columba's and other missions of the century previous, by a more northern settlement." The missionaries of Iona and of Applecross divided the work in Skye between them.

The Annals of Ulster tell us that Magh Lunge, the chief monastery founded by Columba in Tiree, was burned in 672. It may have been done by Picts, as they had harried St. Comgall in the same island in the previous century, and more recently had murdered the monks of Eigg.

9. Adamnan (679-704) was the most famous Abbot of Iona after the Founder. He was a Connaught man, of Columba's clan, and probably joined the brotherhood in Seghine's time, as he was born in 624, and was therefore twenty-eight years old when that abbot died. Some of his elders in the monastery had been Columba's monks, and used to tell the young man what they remembered about the great Saint, and especially about his last days, the story of which Adamnan has so beautifully reproduced at the end of his biography. As a monk Adamnan shared to the full in the necessary activities of the island community. Thus he speaks of himself and others as engaged on one occasion in hauling overland long boats hollowed out of pine and oak trees, bringing great timbers for ship and house building, and praying and fasting withal for favourable winds.

In 675, at fifty-five years of age, Adamnan was elected to the abbacy. About twelve years later, Iona Monastery, probably still Columba's original building, was repaired at the expense of Malduin, King of Dalriada, and the Abbot himself led an expedition of twelve coracles to the mainland to tow back oak trees for the purpose. At least this expedition,

which he describes in his Life of St. Columba, tallies with the mention of the royal benefaction which is found elsewhere.

Adamnan says he wrote St. Columba's Life at the urgent request of the brethren. His other chief book is on the Holy Places of Palestine, as described to him by Arculf, a French bishop, who, on his return from an extensive tour in the East, was driven by a storm on to the west coast of Britain, says Bede, and found his way to Iona. There in the long winter evenings he told his story to appreciative listeners, the Abbot wrote down his descriptions quickly on waxed tablets, and afterwards made a copy on parchment, and Arculf drew plans for him of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and three other famous churches, which are reproduced in the edition of the work in Migne's *Patrologia.* Arculf's stories about St. George, which he "learned in the city of Constantinople from some well-informed citizens," show that the great martyr's fame reached Iona centuries before the English army took him for their patron Saint.

The Venerable Bede inserts in his Church History long quotations from an abridgement by himself of Adamnan on the Holy Places. He calls Adamnan "a good and wise man, and most nobly instructed in the knowledge of the Scriptures." Adamnan fasted daily except Sundays and Thursdays and was zealous in good works. In Ireland he obtained the final and effective abolition of the custom of women fighting in battle, and the one thing said of him in the ancient kalendar of Angus the Culdee is that to him the Lord granted the liberation of the women of the Gael.

The first royal burials in Iona for which there is good evidence are those of the Pictish King, Brude mac Bile, who was a great friend of the Abbot, and Egfrid, King of Northumbria, who was killed in war with the Picts in 685 and brought to the sacred island. Egfrid was succeeded by his brother Aldfrid, who had been educated in Iona as Adamnan's foster son. On his accession he set free sixty

Irish captives of Egfrid's at the request of Adamnan, who went to Northumbria to plead for them.

The English Benedictine monks of Northumbria converted Adamnan to the Roman Easter, and while advocating its adoption in the north of Ireland, he also gave up the Celtic tonsure, and came back to Iona with the Roman circle of hair round his crown instead of the bare front of the Celtic monks. "It was a great surprise to his congregation to see him with that tonsure," an Irish chronicler remarks. Although he had the courage of his convictions and shared the prevailing over-estimate of the importance of these things, he was, as Bede says, "a man most devoted to peace and unity," and he died among his brethren at Iona on the 23rd of September 704, before another Easter could bring up the Paschal question again as a matter of difference. They seem to have erected a cross to his memory, for a spot near the bay opposite the middle of the village was called Adamnan's Cross in Gaelic until recent times. This name may be extinct now, as so many similar ones are tending to become, but the bay is still Port a' Chroisein, Bay of the Cross.

Adamnan's abbacy closes the seventh century. These hundred years after the Founder's death were a great period in Iona's history. The illustrious monastery in what Adamnan styles "this our primatial island," was supreme, not only over its own off-shoots in Scotland, but over the great senior foundations of Columba in Ireland. Its missionary zeal had found a fresh outlet in England, and its learning reached its height in Adamnan himself.

CHAPTER VII.

THE EIGHTH AND NINTH CENTURIES.

THE eighth century has a succession of eight abbots.

10. Conamhail (704-710).

11. Dunchadh (710-717). The annals date his appointment three years before his predecessor's death. He may have begun as a coadjutor abbot, or there may have been factions over the Easter question, and nominations by both parties. This unhappy controversy gave trouble in Iona from Adamnan's time until the inevitable transition to the general usage of the Church had been made.

In Dunchadh's third year, 712, Coeddi, called Bishop of Ia, died. He was probably a bishop resident in the monastery. In the next year, Dorbene Fada, or the Tall, "obtained the *cathedra* of Ia," but died within five months. This record of his appointment (apparently) to the abbacy in the middle of Dunchadh's term of office is strange, but resembles Dunchadh's own beginning. The writer on Dorbene in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* says that a schism in the monastery "is in itself improbable, and has no authority in the annals." He prefers the explanation that Dorbene was appointed a tanist abbot, or coadjutor with right of succession. The record of the death of a tanist abbot in 937 (next chapter) shows that the custom existed in Iona.

The oldest existing copy of Adamnan's Life of St. Columba is written by a scribe who says at the end, "Whosoever readeth these books on the miracles of Columba, let him beseech the Lord for me, Dorbene, that after death I may possess eternal life." Critics have no

doubt that the writer is Dorbene Fada; and, as he died only nine years after Adamnan, he very probably copied the book, when a monk under him, at the time of its composition. The manuscript is the oldest one of ancient Scotland that has come down to us. It is in the Public Library at Schaffhausen, but came from Reichenau, a monastery on Lake Constance, originally founded by St. Columbanus. The manuscript must have been carried to the Continent in days when zealous missionaries and learned teachers of the Celtic Church were well known in Europe. A century later, we find an Abbot of Reichenau writing, in Latin verse, the praises of the Iona martyrs of 825.

The turning point of the Easter controversy at Iona is the celebration of the festival at the reformed date by Dunchadh and his monks in 716, at the persuasion of a Saxon priest named Egbert, who came to the island and remained there for the rest of his days. Dunchadh died in the following year.

12. Faelcu (717-724) has his appointment placed by the annalists a year before his predecessor's death. He began with having to face a serious occurrence—the expulsion of all the Columban monks from the north and east of Scotland. Nectan, the King of the Picts, determined to introduce the Roman Easter and tonsure into his dominions. Iona had just changed its Easter, but the monasteries in Pictland had not, and the hasty king gave them no further time. The loss of the Pictish connection greatly reduced Iona's power and importance. In the next year, 718, Iona gave in on the second point, and the Irish chronicler notes, "the coronal tonsure is given to the family of Ia."

Two years before Faelcu's death, Feidhlimidh Beg, Phelim the Little, is represented as receiving the *principatus* or headship of Iona, and he did not die till 759, during which time three successors of Faelcu are recorded. If Phelim was not a rival nominee, it would seem that he was a coadjutor who was thrice passed over. He "may have headed the

conservative or traditional party, which was then certainly on the decline."

13. Cillene Fada (724-726). Cillen the Tall.

14. Cillene Droicteach (726-752). Cillen the Bridgemaker. This abbot is in the Irish kalendars under July 3, and the Donegal martyrology says, "It was he that brought to Erin the shrine and numerous relics which Adamnan collected, in order to make peace and friendship between the races of Conall and Ewan." This journey took place in the year after Cillen's appointment. After his return to Iona he retired to a hermit's cell, from which he governed the community, unless, indeed, he was already a hermit when elected to the abbacy, for we know from the annals that he was an anchorite abbot to his death. The community's choice of an anchorite saint for abbot could be explained by veneration for his piety and desire for his special intercession for the monastery. Nor is the mission of peace to Ireland inconsistent with his being already a hermit, for such have often issued from their cells at the call of Christian duty.

The name Cillene Droicteach may mean Cillen the Bishop, *droicteach* standing for the Latin *pontifex*.* Or it may mean literally a bridge-builder. Thus Fiachna, the son of Aid Ron, a king of Ulster just after Cillene's time, was called Fiachna Dubh Droictech, Dark Fiachna the Bridgemaker, because he made a bridge over "the Bog of the Ox," and others.† If Abbot Cillen's surname has this literal meaning, it is probable, as Skene suggests, that he gained the appellation by setting his monks to build the causeway which traverses the Lochan Mór, then a large sheet of water—that it was made as a means of communication between the monastery and the Hermit's Cell in the west—and that the cell was the abode of this anchorite abbot, whence he ruled his community from afar.

During the early part of Cillen's long abbacy, St. Ronan, whose name is perpetuated in Iona, presided over the

* Whitley Stokes on the Irish Annals, s.v. pontifex.

† MacFirbis, quoted in Reeves, *Antiquities of Down*, etc.

monastery of Kingarth, in Bute. At this time the Venerable Bede passed away, in his monastic cell at Jarrow. We have quoted him on St. Columba; on Lindisfarne, which he once visited; on St. Adamnan, who paid a visit to Jarrow when Bede was a lad there; and on the change of Easter at Iona, which to his joy he lived to see accomplished. In his simple delight in goodness he often sings the praises of the devoted Celtic monks, even those who were most opposed to the Paschal reform.

The perils of the deep amid which the hardy Scottish monks did their work are forcibly illustrated by two catastrophes of Cillen's time. In 737 the Abbot of Applecross, near Skye, "was drowned in the deep sea, with his sailors, to the number of 22." In 749 Iona suffered. The Irish chronicler's brief entry is, "A great wind. The drowning of the family of Ia." In the previous century, in Seghine's abbacy, the "wreck of a boat of the family of Ia" had occurred. Iona and its ancient dependency of Tiree lie in the mouth of a very stormy stretch of sea extending up to Skye and Lewis, and shipwrecks were numerous on the reefs south of Tiree before Skerryvore Light was placed there.

Wee Phelim, who had been appointed to his office (p. 63) four years before Cillen Droicteach, outlived him for seven years, and it seems highly probable that he acted as the deputy of the anchorite abbot in such matters as his mode of life precluded him from attending to personally.

15. Slebhine (752-767).

16. Suibhne (767-772). This is the second Sweeny who was abbot.

17. Breasal (772-801) seems to have entered on his government at a prosperous time. He had under him as monks Niall Frassach, who, after reigning over Ireland for seven years, had exchanged his crown for a cowl, and King Artgal of Connaught, both of whom died in Iona Monastery at this time after some years in Religious life. They are

probably included in the tradition of Irish kings buried in Reilig Odhrain.

The death of Conall, Abbot of Magh Lunge in Tiree, is recorded for 774, after which this ancient monastery disappears from history and probably came to an end. The Abbot of Iona obviously could not leave monks to be slaughtered in so exposed an island when the Danes appeared, as now they did. This dark cloud of woe began to overshadow the prospect towards the close of Breasal's life, when the pirate ships of the Northern Pagans first appeared on the British coasts. The storm broke first on Northumbria. At the beginning of the year 793, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says that "the ravaging of heathen men lamentably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne through rapine and slaughter." In the following year they fell upon Jarrow, where Bede had spent his life, and the Irish annals first report them in the Western Isles of Scotland.

In 795 a passing Danish fleet made the first attack on Iona, and sacked the place, though the monks seem to have escaped in time to save their lives, as there is no mention of any being killed. It would not take long to get across to Mull and hide there. Abbot Breasal was taken from the darkening world six years later, before things got to their worst. Hatred of Christianity and greed for plunder combined to attract the Danes to monasteries, where they might expect to find defenceless old clergymen and rich church treasures. The slaughter of their kinsmen, the heathen tribes of North Germany, by Charlemagne in the name of religion is supposed to have stirred up their animosity against the Church. They sometimes tortured their victims to death with horrible cruelty. Often must the heart-sick watchman on Dùn-I have seen their hundreds of ships sweeping along the horizon southward towards more attractive Ireland, on whose green shores "the sea vomited up hosts of Pagans" after the pioneer plunderers and scouts had carried their reports back to the North.

PLATE 17. PORT NAM MAIRTIR: BAY OF THE MARTYRS. *Page* 66.

THE NINTH CENTURY.

18. Connachtach (801-802), "a scribe most choice and abbot of Ia," had a short and troubled term of office. It must have been in quieter times and a lower station that he attained to fame as a "scriba selectissimus." Some marvellous manuscripts of the Irish monastic scribes survive to show what Connachtach's title implies. But alas! for such peaceful arts and Iona's stores of precious writings in the calamitous ninth century. The Danish attack on the monastery in 795 proved the preliminary of a long period of terror, blood, and fire, in which Iona won the glory of "red martyrdom," but lost well-nigh all else. In Connachtach's first year the monastery was burned by the "Gentiles," and the Abbot died next year. The ravagers returned again and again, as we shall see, but after each successive attack the love and veneration of the monks of Iona for their home forced them to re-establish themselves there at all perils.

19. Cellach, son of Conghall (802-815). Sixty-eight of the community were slain in 806, apparently the first Iona martyrs. It is to be supposed that the Martyrs' Bay (Plate 17) was the Danes' landing-place and camp, and that they dragged their victims thither and put an end to them on its sandy shore. Of the three recorded slaughters of monks in Iona the second took place in the monastery, and tradition connects the third with the White Sands, near the head of the Sound, leaving Martyrs' Bay for the first.

The oversight of the Columban order was no longer possible for the afflicted monastery, and Abbot Cellach transferred the primacy to Kells in Ireland in 814. He may have brought thither the magnificent manuscript since known as the Book of Kells, for critics assign it to the eighth century, and there is no reason why it should not have been written and illuminated in Iona by some such scribe as Abbot Connachtach, Cellach's predecessor. The Pictish

King Constantine came to the rescue of the Iona monks, and built them a monastery at Dunkeld on the Tay; but in Iona itself new buildings were bravely begun, this time of stone and on the higher and better site where the Cathedral stands. Such, at least, is Dr. Skene's conjecture as to the time when the change of site was made.

Now, if not before, St. Columba's grave was opened and his remains were taken out of the stone coffin and placed in a portable shrine ornamented with rich metal work, in accordance with the Continental custom which made its way into the Celtic Church in the eighth century. The shrine seems to have been in Ireland during the building of the new monastery at Iona. Cellach did not return to Scotland, but resigned the abbacy and died soon afterwards.

20. Dermid (815-832). About three years after his accession this abbot brought back St. Columba's shrine from Ireland, and it would then be set in the new church, on the south side of the altar, for all to see. Dermid was absent in Ireland again in 825, when another Danish massacre took place. This is commemorated as the Passion of St. Blathmac and the Martyrs of Iona, on January 19th. Before the attack the monks hid the shrine in the earth and covered it with sods. Blathmac seems to have been the acting superior and to have remained purposely ignorant of where the shrine was buried. He was at the altar celebrating the conventual Mass in the dark winter morning when the heathen burst into the church, slew the worshipping monks, and demanded the shrine from him. He refused, and they cut him down, commending himself to God.

There are short notices of the martyrdom in the Irish annals, but the details are given in a Latin hexameter poem on St. Blathmac, by Walafrid Strabo, a distinguished monk of the Irish monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, and afterwards Abbot of Reichenau, where he died only twenty-four years after the event. Of Blathmac's posthumous fame he adds:—

"He who for Christ's dear name endured the pangs of a martyr
Rests in the selfsame place, men say who tell of his glory,
Where for his holy merits God in miracles worketh."

His resting where he died and the mention of miracles point to his relics having been enshrined, like St. Columba's, and exposed to the veneration of pilgrims to Iona. As Dr. Skene has suggested, the two shrines perhaps stood in the very ancient little oratory called St. Columba's Tomb, beside the Cathedral door. It is of the earliest type of Irish stone chapels (see Chapter XII.), and contains two stone cists, one nine feet long, on the south side, and the other nearly seven

STONE CIST ON SOUTH SIDE IN "ST. COLUMBA'S TOMB."

feet long, on the north side of where the altar would have stood. These may have supported the shrines, the great one of St. Columba in the place of honour on the south. This would resemble the arrangement in a new church built for St. Bridget's monastery of Kildare at about the same date, in which the sacred remains of St. Bridget and her chaplain, the holy Bishop Conlaidh, "rested on the right and left of the decorated altar, deposited in monuments adorned with various embellishments of gold and silver and gems of precious stone, with crowns of gold and silver hanging above, and with divers images, and curtains of divers colours." That the Iona oratory held the shrine of Columba's bones is probable from its

traditional designation as his Tomb. If the shrine that stood opposite, as the stone cists now lie, was not St. Blathmac's, both may have been reliquaries of St. Columba, containing respectively his "marta," or enshrined bones, and a collection of his "mionna" or other relics, the chief of which were his cowl, cross, and psalter. Both the marta and the mionna of the Saint are mentioned in the Irish annals of the period. Abbot Dermid, who had brought the marta back from Ireland at the beginning of his term, brought also the mionna near its close. Further transportations of the reliquaries by both him and his successor are also recorded.

21. Abbot Innrechtach (832-854) succeeded Dermid. In 843 Kenneth MacAlpine, King of Dalriada, succeeded also to the Pictish throne, thus becoming the first king of all Scotland, and the two kingdoms coalesced permanently into one. Kenneth translated relics of St. Columba from Iona to Dunkeld, which he made a bishopric and the ecclesiastical centre of his kingdom. He is said also to have brought the Coronation Stone from Argyllshire to Scone, whence Edward I. of England carried it off to Westminster. Legend says that this stone, now in the Coronation Chair, is the stone on which St. Columba crowned King Aidan in Iona (Chapter V.), and that it was originally Jacob's pillow. Skene's book on it questions all its history before its use for Scottish coronations at Scone.

The annals say that Abbot Innrechtach, *sapiens optimus*, was "martyred" by the Saxons on his way to Rome in 854. After him the succession of resident abbots of Iona is for the first time broken, and Cellach, son of Aillel, Abbot of Kildare, holds also the abbacy of Iona. Though non-resident, he visited Scotland, for his death "in the country of the Picts" is recorded for 865. Cellach's appointment to Iona, in addition to Kildare, shows how the monastery had declined in importance, and probably in efficiency also, as the rest of the Celtic Church was now doing. Notwithstanding this, King Kenneth MacAlpine was buried in Iona in 860, and as a

PLATE 18. ST. JOHN'S CROSS AND ST. COLUMBA'S TOMB, *Page* 70.

place of royal burial it became "the Westminster Abbey of Scotland" for two centuries.

Feradhach was Abbot of Iona from 865 to 880. The Danes were now succeeded by new invaders—the Norwegian vikings, who brought disquiet again into the Isles, though they were not the terrible scourge that the cruel Danes had been. They established themselves first in the Orkneys, at the north-east extremity of Scotland over against Norway, and thence spread down through the Western Isles and coast, conquering and settling. A chief named Ketil Flatnef came into the Hebrides, but was driven away to Iceland by King Harold Harfagr, who came over from Norway and subdued the Isles down to Man about the year 870. King Constantine I. of Scotland fell in battle against the Norwegians in Fife in 877. "They found the king's body," says the old Scottish chronicler Fordun, "and bore it with deep wailing to the island of Iona, where it was enshrined with great honours in his father's bosom." In the following year, the Irish records tell us, "the shrine of Columkill and his reliquaries in general were taken to Erin for refuge from the foreigners." Abbot Feradhach's anxieties must have been great in the midst of such dangers.

An abbot named Flann died in 891, but his successor is not known, nor is another abbot heard of for more than forty years.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LATER CELTIC PERIOD.

IONA seems to have enjoyed a long period of peaceful obscurity in the tenth century. The Columban order was now presided over by a dignitary called the Co-arb of Columkill, Heir of Columba, who was usually the abbot of some chief monastery in Ireland. The names of the co-arbs are preserved, but only a few of the local abbots of Iona. There are, however, other signs that the monastery was flourishing in its way, and we can even tell pretty well what it looked like say about the middle of the century.

There were several little stone churches,* the principal one being, perhaps, the roofless church in the north-east of the Cathedral enclosure, with the foundation of what may have been the refectory near it. The tiny oratory by the Cathedral door has been already mentioned. There was a row of buildings north of it, the outer wall of which has been traced on the west of the Benedictine cloister.

Some beautifully carved high stone crosses stood beside the monastery, and over all rose up a high round tower like a lighthouse, the circular foundation of which, six feet thick, has been discovered underground at the west end of the Cathedral. The whole formed a group similar to some much better preserved monasteries of the same period in Ireland, where, in many cases, the famous round towers still stand. These towers began to be built in Ireland about 900 A.D., and served as belfries, landmarks, look-out stations, and forts of

* The old Celtic churches in Scotland and Ireland are all small. Where there were many monks they either had service in several little churches at once or said the offices in successive bands, sometimes even keeping up a continuous round of praise day and night by this means.

refuge. They vary from 50 to 125 feet in height, and the door is high above ground and only to be reached by a ladder. The protection they afforded was not always effectual; thus the Ulster Annals record that in 950 "the bell-tower of Slaine was burned by the foreigners with it full of relics and distinguished persons, together with Caeincachair, lector of Slaine, and the crosier of the patron Saint, and a bell, the best of bells." It is not unlikely that the Iona tower was built by this time. One at St. Patrick's, in the Isle of Man, is assigned to this century.

By the tower stood the crosses, of which St. Martin's alone remains entire. The whole group of buildings and monuments was such as Mr. Romilly Allen speaks of as follows: "The High Crosses of Ireland are in most cases associated with a characteristic set of ecclesiastical structures, consisting of a Round Tower and several small churches. This class of monuments consequently belongs to the time when the artistic talents of the Celtic monks, which had been previously entirely absorbed in illuminating MSS., were directed into the new channel of architecture. The High Cross of Muiredach, at Monasterboice, Co. Louth, and that of King Fland at Clonmacnois, King's Co., are proved by the inscriptions upon them to have been erected during the first quarter of the tenth century. There is such a general family likeness between most of the High Crosses of Ireland that they are probably all of about the same date."

The Iona crosses are similar to the Irish ones, and there is every reason to suppose that they were carved and set up early in the tenth century.

The Norwegians remained dominant in the Isles for all the rest of the Celtic Church period, but were not aggressive against the Church. A second Scottish king fell in battle with them in 900, and a third in 963, and both were buried in Iona like the rest of their line.

About the year 900 a devout Scottish husband and wife made a pilgrimage to Iona to pray God to give them a child,

and spent a night in fasting and supplication at the shrine of St. Columba. The woman bore a son, Cadroe, and afterwards another, upon which they brought their first-born to the tomb of the Saint to give him to God, and left him with a holy old man, his uncle, who seems to have been a monk at Iona. He was afterwards sent to Armagh for his studies—an indication of truth in the Life of St. Cadroe (from which Dr. Skene has brought the story to light), for at that very time the Abbot of Armagh was Co-arb of Columkill, and his monastery therefore a likely centre for the education of novices. St. Cadroe returns to Scotland, but eventually goes to the Continent, and dies Abbot of St. Clement's, Metz. He seems to be the only monk traceable from Iona to Europe, though many Irishmen found their way to the Continental Church.

In 908 St. Andrews became the primatial see of Scotland, the head of the Church of which Iona had been the glorious mother. There are only a few bare scraps of information about the island at this time. "Angus MacMuircetaigh, a learned man, anchorite, and tanist abbot of Ia," died in 937. A tanist was an assistant-superior with right of succession when the abbot died, in accordance with an Irish custom which appears to have been common at Iona two centuries before this. Caencomhrac, Abbot of Ia, died in 947, and Finghin, anchorite and Bishop of Ia, in 966. In 976 "the shrine of Columkill was robbed by Donald MacMurcadha," whose paternal name happens to be the same as the designation of a little rock-islet in the ocean a mile to the west of Iona, known as Stac MhicMhurchaidh —*i.e.*, MacMurdoch's Rock.

Two years after the robbery of the shrine the death of Fiachra, the "arcinnech" or steward of Ia, is recorded. If the abbot of the time was an anchorite, like some of his near predecessors, a steward's services would be peculiarly useful.

A great abbot died in 980, Mughron, "Co-arb of Columkill both in Erin and Alba," or, according to another annalist, "Abbot of Ia, scribe and bishop, the most learned of the

PLATE 19. ST. MARTIN'S CROSS FROM THE CATHEDRAL. *Page* 74

three divisions," an expression supposed to denote the three Gaelic countries of Ireland, Scotland, and Man. Some hymn verses of his composition are in the Irish Liber Hymnorum.

In Mughron's last year a notable pilgrim, Anlaf the King of the Danes of Dublin, came to Iona after a defeat in battle by the Irish, and died there "after penance and a good life." Anlaf had become a Christian in England, and was connected by marriage with the Scottish royal family, but his Danish subjects at Dublin continued heathen, and in 986 Maelciaran, the Co-arb of Columkill in Ireland, "suffered red martyrdom" at their hands.

At the end of the year 986 a plundering host of Limerick Danes descended on Iona in the night before Christmas, and "slew the abbot and fifteen Religious of the church." The rest probably escaped into the round tower, but the unnamed abbot and his companions were cut off, and died by the hands of their captors. Skene records it as a tradition in Iona that the victims of this final heathen massacre were killed on the sands known as Tràigh Bhàn nam Manach (White Beach of the Monks), near the north end of the Sound. The story of a slaughter of monks there is still current in the island, and they are said to have been killed on the dark steep-sided rock * that bounds this particular stretch of sand on the north.

In the year after this attack on the monastery, the chronicler records "a great slaughter of the Danes who ravaged Hy, 360 of whom were slain." The avenger was Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, whose fleet the miscreants seem to have fallen in with before they could get home. The Norwegians by this time were Christian, the Danes of Ireland were soon afterwards conquered by King Brian Boru, and Iona suffered no more heathen attacks.

* Now called Sgeir nam Màrt, "Rock of the Cows," because it was used for landing cattle before the boat pier at the village was built. The beach is seen in Plate 2, on the extreme right.

Maelbride, a resident Abbot of Iona, died in 1005, and Flannobhra, Co-arb of Iona, in 1025. The title of co-arb given to this abbot suggests that the monastery had risen to higher importance at the time. The Irish chief, Maelruanaidh, the head of St. Columba's clan, made a pilgrimage to Iona in 1026, and 1047 is marked by the death in the island of another pilgrim, Bishop Cethernach.

But although the Religious life and pilgrimages are thus seen to have continued, the next incident furnishes an example of the now general decay of discipline in the Celtic Church. In 1070 an Abbot of Iona, MacBaetan, was killed by a son of the Co-arb of Columkill. A layman had probably obtained the titular headship of the order in Ireland, with its emoluments—for this kind of usurpation of Church titles and offices was becoming common—and his son committed the act of violence recorded, perhaps in making some aggression on the abbot's rights.

The monastery found a benefactress in St. Margaret of Scotland, the Saxon princess who fled from England on its conquest by the Normans, and was crowned as Malcolm Canmore's queen in 1070. After her death she was canonized for her virtues and good works. According to Ordericus Vitalis, she "restored the monastery of Hy, which Columba, the servant of Christ, erected in the time of Brude, son of Meilcon, King of the Picts. It had fallen into ruin in the storms of war and the lapse of ages, but the faithful queen rebuilt and restored it, and gave the monks an endowment for the performance of the Lord's work."

King Malcolm was the son of Duncan, who on his murder by Macbeth was buried, like his predecessors, in Iona. But Malcolm gave up Iona as a royal burial place, and he and Margaret, on their deaths in 1093, were laid to rest in their new Abbey of Dunfermline.

The Western Isles fluctuated at this time between Scottish and Norwegian possession, and when the Diocese of Man and the Isles was formed in this century, the first bishops were

Norwegians. Bishop Hrolfr, the first we hear of, died before 1066, and was buried in the Isle of Man. The cathedral was in Man, and more than 400 years ensued before Iona Abbey became the cathedral of the Scottish Isles. In 1154, Ragnald being bishop, the see was put under the primacy of the Archbishop of Trondhjem, in Norway.

One day in the year 1097, the brethren of Iona looked out on the waters of the Sound covered with the long war-galleys of the North. King Magnus of Norway stepped ashore, proclaiming peace and safety to all men. At the monastery he looked into "the lesser church of Columkill"—perhaps the little oratory of the shrine with its sacred splendours—but straightway drawing back, and shutting the door, he exclaimed that no one must be so bold as to enter that holy place. He was on an expedition to enforce his claim on the Isles and Man, and during his long operations in the Hebrides he and his men adopted the Highland kilt or philabeg, whence his people called him Magnus Barelegs when he got home again.

Abbot Dunchadh, whose death is recorded for 1099, was probably the abbot who received King Magnus on his visit just mentioned. Silence then enwraps Iona for sixty-five years, until it is broken in 1164 by an interesting notice, in the Annals of Ulster, of a deputation to Ireland. "Select members of the muinntir of Ia, viz., the archpriest, Augustine, and the lector, that is, Dubsidhe, and the disertach, that is, MacGilladuff, and the head of the Culdees, namely, MacForcellaigh, and select members of the muinntir besides came to ask the Co-arb of Columkill, namely, Flaherty O'Brolchan, to accept the abbacy of Ia, by advice of Somerled and the men of Argyll and the Isles. But the Co-arb of Patrick and the King of Erin, that is, O'Lochlan, and the nobles of the family of Ewan prevented him."

This shows the monastery going on under its officers, lacking only a chief head. They tried to get the co-arb of the order, who was a distinguished Abbot of Derry and an honorary bishop, to come and take charge of Iona. The

leader of the deputation, Augustine the sagart mor or great priest, we may suppose to have been the prior or assistant-superior. As such he would act as abbot during the vacancy. Dubsidhe's duties as lector (ferleiginn) would be teaching and preaching. He would probably give lectures in the monastery. MacGilladuff's title of disertach means "desert man," eremite or hermit. Disert was an old Irish term for a hermitage; the name, though meaningless in modern Gaelic, still attaches to an ancient religious site to the north of Iona Cathedral; and here MacGilladuff lived the solitary life from which he was summoned to take part in this important affair.

We see above that a Head of Culdees was one of the dignitaries of Iona Monastery in 1164. Culdees were hermits who lived in community in a more retired way than ordinary monks; that is, they stayed at home to pray and fast and work, following what is called the "contemplative" religious life, whereas other monks went about preaching and doing other ministerial and missionary work.

The Culdee rule was instituted at Tallaght, near Dublin, by St. Maelruain, who died in 787. Culdee is for Céle Dé, Servant of God, and though the title Céle Dé is given by old Irish writers to some holy persons before Maelruain, it has not, in their cases, the definite meaning which it afterwards acquired. One of Maelruain's disciples was Angus or Oengus the Culdee, whose writings have been quoted in these pages. At Tallaght they used to keep watch and chant psalms in their church continuously by twos, night and day.

The Culdees spread to Scotland about the year 800, so that there were thenceforward both Columban monasteries and Culdee hermitages in the kingdom. In Iona, as at Armagh in Ireland, Culdees and monks were associated together. There is no mention of Culdees at Iona before 1164, and they may have been added to the establishment to ensure regularity in the celebration of the church services, a duty for which they were well adapted. They had their

own superior, who, according to Culdee custom, bore the title of Cenn or Head.

In some other places in Scotland, where Culdees alone were in charge of collegiate churches, they had by this time fallen away from their old strict rules. Thus at St. Andrews they had from monks become married clergymen, and handed on their office from father to son. Elsewhere, even where they remained single, they were not living according to their rule. This furnished an excuse for suppressing them everywhere, as part of the reform of the Celtic Church which was carried out in Scotland in the twelfth century.

It remains to say a word about Somerled, who supported the Iona monks in their attempt to get an abbot from Ireland. He was the Lord of Argyll, a great district comprising not only ancient Dalriada, now Argyllshire, but most of the west coast of Scotland north of this. Somerled, who appears to have acknowledged the King of Norway as his overlord, was killed at Renfrew in an expedition against the King of Scots, soon after this Iona deputation in which he interested himself.

In 1174 Maelpatrick O'Banain, Bishop of Conor and Down, "a venerable man, full of sanctity, meekness, and purity of heart," died in the holy island. At the beginning of the summer of 1188 the body of Godred, the Norse King of Man, who had died in the previous autumn, was brought from Man to Iona for burial. A certain Awley O'Daigre died there on pilgrimage in 1188, and there also, in 1199, "the holy Maurice O'Baoden rested in peace."

Meanwhile Church matters in Scotland had long been taking a course divergent from Iona traditions. In the previous century St. Margaret, although so liberal to Iona, began a policy of Latinizing the Scottish Church after the English model, and this was continued especially by King David I. (1124-1153), the third of her sons who succeeded to the throne. The Celtic liturgy was abolished as a "barbarous rite," the loose organization which had come

down from the Columban missionary days gave place to regular dioceses, which were put under bishops and provided with parish priests, while Benedictine monks and Augustinian canons were brought in to take the place of the Celtic Culdees and monks.

Remote Iona escaped the longest, but sometime between 1172 and 1180 King William the Lion granted the monastery's Lowland churches and tithes in Galloway to the canons of Holyrood. And at the beginning of the next century, Reginald, son of Somerled, who had inherited the Lordship of the Isles from his father, established black-robed Benedictines in Iona itself, and gave them all the remaining lands and churches of the Columban monks whose place they were to take. As the ancient sennachie or historian of the Macdonald clan puts it, he founded "a monastery of black monks in I, in honour of God and St. Columkill; a monastery of black nuns in the same place; and a monastery of grey monks at Saddell." These grey monks were Cistercians of Savigny, who were already in the diocese, at Rushin in Man. Black monks and nuns denote ordinary Benedictines, who wear black. There were already establishments of them in Scotland.

A letter of Pope Innocent III. (the great pontiff who befriended St. Dominic and St. Francis) is addressed to Abbot Celestine and the Benedictine monastery of St. Columba in Hy, under date of December 9th, 1203. The Pope takes the community under his protection; confirms them in possession of Iona, Mull, Colonsay, Oronsay, and certain other islands and churches; and decrees that there shall be free right of sepulture in Iona, so that no one is to put any obstacle to the devotion and last wishes of those who desire to be buried there, except any under excommunication or interdict, etc. This document is preserved in copy at the Vatican.

Next year, 1204, the Ulster Annals narrate a strange event in Iona, after which the island appears no more in

the Irish records. Some one whom they call Cellach built a monastery in the middle of the island, without any right, and in dishonour of the community, thereby inflicting great damage on the place. When north Ireland heard of this, a party of Derry men came over, led by the Bishops of Tyrone and Tyrconnel and the Abbots of Armagh and Derry, and pulled down Cellach's building. Then Awley O'Freel, the Abbot of Derry, who was a lineal descendant of St. Columba's only brother Ewan, was elected Abbot of Iona by the votes of the assemblage.

This seems to be an account, from the Irish point of view, of the appearance of the Benedictines in Iona, and of an explosion which not unnaturally ensued. The Celestine of the Pope's letter above has his name put into Irish as Cellach. It has been conjectured by Bishop Reeves that his short-lived building in the middle of the island gave the name to Gleann an Teampuill, the Glen of the Church, which lies to the west of the barrier of hills overhanging the village, and opens into the central plain at Culbhuirg Farm, opposite the Angels' Hill. Skene supposes that the Benedictines intended to get the Columban community out of the way by removing them to this new site. But whether the building which was destroyed was meant for them or for the newcomers themselves, we hear no more of Awley O'Freel and the indignant Irish, and there is no doubt that the Benedictines remained in possession of Iona. They may eventually have absorbed the Columban monks into their body. When King David brought Austin canons to St. Andrews sixty years before this, the Culdees there were given the option of becoming canons, or being replaced by the latter, one by one, as they died. We do not know whether any settlement proved possible between the parties in Iona, or whether the last Celtic monks left their Founder's isle for ever. They had held it for 640 years from St. Columba's landing at Port na Curaich. The tenure of the island and of Scotland by the mediæval Church proved both shorter and less glorious.

CHAPTER IX.

THE BENEDICTINES AND THE LORDS OF THE ISLES.

ST. BENEDICT, who died in St. Columba's youth, was as great a monk and organizer of monastic life as the Celtic abbot was a missionary. The Benedictine rule spread universally through Europe, and when its disciples reached Scotland and Iona, they were probably at a higher spiritual level than the representatives of the old Celtic monks. There are, however, no achievements to record of the Benedictines of Iona.

They used the title St. Columba's Monastery, as we see from the Pope's letter cited in the previous chapter, but the abbey church was specially dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, whose name still graces it. Adjoining the church are the remains of the cloister, where they sat at their reading, writing, or other indoor work, and assembled to file into the choir for services and into refectory at meal times. While they ate, one of the fathers read aloud from the appointed book. Their prayer-place, the choir of the church, is as long as the nave, for monastic churches had to have long chancels to accommodate all the monks at the services. There were Matins at midnight, then a sleep, till the morning psalmody of Prime began the busy day, which they spent in alternate offices of prayer and tasks of useful work, very much as their Celtic predecessors had done. Now, however, no great heathen mission field cried dumbly from beyond the eastward hills and northern waters, "Come over and help us." Such an opportunity was given only once to Iona, and that in her earliest days, when she won most of her fame.

Besides his black monks, Reginald, as we have seen,

PLATE 20. MACLEAN'S CROSS: EAST FACE. *Page* 82.

founded a sisterhood of the same great order in Iona, installing them in a convent some distance south of the abbey. Their first prioress or superior was his sister, whose Gaelic name is sometimes rendered Beatrice in English. Macvurich, the clan historian of the Macdonalds, says of her in the Book of Clanranald, "Bethog, the daughter of Somerled, was a religious woman and a black nun." She seems to have been active in spiritual works, for the same writer goes on to say that she built the church called Teampull Chairinis, in the island of Uist, which lies far out to sea, between Barra and Lewis. Martin, an observant traveller who made a tour of the Hebrides at the end of the seventeenth century, records an inscription which he read on a gravestone in Iona Nunnery: "BEHAG NIGN SORLE VIC IL VRID PRIORESSA"; Beatrice, daughter of Somerled the son of Gilbride, prioress.

Nothing special can be said of the life of the nuns of Iona. It was doubtless quiet and uneventful enough for the most part, and followed the regular daily round of services and prayer, needlework, teaching, etc., which goes on within convent walls. At some time subsequent to their foundation they either changed from St. Benedict's Rule to the Augustinian, or gave place to Religious of the latter order; for in the fifteenth century the Augustinian Abbot Bowar, in his continuation of Fordun's chronicle, describes them as "holy nuns of the order of St. Augustine, wearing the rochet," and the costume in which Prioress Anna appears in her effigy in Iona Nunnery confirms this.

Macvurich the sennachie, after rehearsing Lord Reginald's good works and telling us that he was "the most distinguished of the Galls and the Gaels * for prosperity, sway of generosity,

* The Galls, "strangers," were the Scandinavian element in the Isles, and the Gaels the older Celtic inhabitants. Fingal, "fair stranger," meant a Norwegian, and Dugal, "dark stranger," a Dane. After the Norwegian conquest of the Hebrides, they were known to the Celts as Insi-gal, the Isles of the Foreigners.

and feats of arms," goes on to tell of his end. "Having obtained a cross from Jerusalem, partaken of the Body of Christ, and received unction, he died, and was buried at Reilig Odhrain in I, in the year of our Lord 1207." What is probably his gravestone is still to be seen in the ancient cemetery where he was laid to rest 700 years ago. His sons Dugal and Donald, the lords respectively of Lorne and Isla, gave origin to clans called by their names, the Macdougals of Lorne and the Macdonalds of the Isles. Of these, the Macdonalds, or Clan Donald, are especially connected with the mediæval history of Iona.

After Reginald's death there was something approaching anarchy in the Isles for a time, and the Scandinavian historian Torfesen tells how two lawless Norwegians, Birkibein and Bagli, took advantage of it. In the year 1210 they made a piratical incursion into the Isles with twelve ships, and plundered "even the holy island, to wit, St. Columba's, which till that day had been free from injury by the Norwegians and protected by religion." This was early trouble for the newly established abbey. We next find an Abbot of Iona in Norway, where King Hacon in 1226 receives him, with Simon, Bishop of the Isles, and the Earl of Orkney, at Bergen. Simon had come to be consecrated by the Archbishop of Trondhjem, the ecclesiastical chief of both bishop and abbot. On their return to the Isles the bishop began the building of a new cathedral at St. German's in Man, and was buried in it twenty years later. Meanwhile the Isles continued in a disturbed state, and there was fighting in 1229 between the Norwegians and Islesmen, in which a leader named Ospac Hacon, son of Dugal of Lorne and nephew to Reginald, was killed at Kintyre. Like his uncle, he was brought to Iona for burial.

Iona Monastery is the subject of a Papal document of this time. A letter of Pope Innocent IV., dated at Lyons, May 1, 1247, is addressed "to our beloved son the Abbot of the venerable Monastery of St. Columba, of the Order of St.

Benedict, in the Sodor Diocese." The abbot, "having come personally to our presence," is granted, with his successors, the use of the ring and of the mitre at divine services, like a bishop, and may pronounce the solemn blessing in the churches of the monastery, or in any monastery of the order, if no legate or bishop be present. This shows that the abbot made a journey to Lyons to visit the Pope. He may have gone to obtain exemption from the jurisdiction of distant Trondhjem, for the later abbots are found doing homage to the Bishops of Dunkeld instead. They seem to have been independent of the Bishop of the Isles.

In 1266 Norway ceded the Western Isles to Scotland, as the outcome of a final struggle. The Lord of Isla at this time was Angus Mor, son of Donald, son of Reginald, who died in Isla in 1294. His son Angus Oig patriotically supported Robert Bruce in his fight for Scotland's freedom, and led the clansmen of the Isles to victory at Bannockburn. He is Sir Walter Scott's Lord of the Isles, under the more poetic name of Ronald. He benefited by Bruce's success, and got lands of his kinsman, Alexander of Lorne, in Jura, Coll, Tiree, and other islands, and in Duror and Glencoe, becoming thus the most powerful chief in the West. On his death in Isla in 1326 he was brought to Iona for burial.

About this time Finlay, Abbot elect of Iona, went to William St. Clair, Bishop of Dunkeld (1312-1337) to have his election confirmed. This is the first evidence of the transfer of the abbey from the jurisdiction of Trondhjem to that of Dunkeld.

Angus Oig's son and successor was known as Good John of Isla, probably because of his liberality to the Church. After some friction with King David II., John of Isla got a royal grant of Morvern and the Isles, from Lewis to Colonsay and Jura, with the formal title of Lord of the Isles, and John of Lorne made over Mull to him. The Macleans and Mackinnons of Mull thus became followers of Macdonald. The Macleans were led by two brothers, Lachlan, called Lubanach

or the Wily, and Hector Reaganach, the Stern. The story goes that the Lord of the Isles set off from Mull one day for Ardtornish in his birlinn or yacht, bidding Mackinnon and the Maclean brothers to follow. But these vassals had an affray as they were about to embark, in which Mackinnon was killed by the Macleans. These thereupon rowed hard after Macdonald, boarded his vessel, and carried him captive to Iona, where they made him swear on the sacred Black Stones that he would pardon the death of Mackinnon, and give his daughter's hand and the lands of Duart, in Mull, to Lachlan, and to Hector, Lochbuie in the same island. Lachlan's marriage took place in 1366.

Two Papal letters of this time have to do with Iona. Innocent VI. writes on February 3, 1353, to the Bishop of Argyll, and to the Abbot of Saddell in Kintyre, and the Prior of Oronsay, of Argyll and Sodor dioceses respectively. Gillegehanan, son of the late John, a notary of Mull, an acolyte of Sodor diocese, desires to serve the Lord "in the monastery of St. Columba of Hy, of the Order of St. Benedict." He is to be admitted if the number of monks is incomplete, or as soon as there is a vacancy.

On September 10, 1372, Gregory XI. writes from Avignon to the Bishop of Argyll to appoint Mactyr, son of judge John, clerk of the diocese of Sodor, to the parish church of St. Columba of Hy, vice the late Dominic, son of Kenneth, rector. This is the first mention of a parish church in Iona, and shows that the island now had a general population who needed a church and pastor. A much later document, shortly before the Reformation, names the parsonage of Teampull Ronain, thus identifying St. Ronan's Chapel, near the Nunnery, as the old parish church.

The sennachie says of Good John of Isla that he made donations to Icolmkill and that "he died in his own castle at Ardtornish, while monks and priests were over his body, and having received the Body of Christ and been anointed, his fair body was brought to Icolmkill, and the abbot and monks

and vicars came to meet him, as it was customary to meet the bodies of the kings of Fingall, and his service and waking were honourably performed during eight days and eight nights, and he was laid in the same grave as his father in Teampull Odhrain, in the year of our Lord 1380."

In 1390 Donald, Good John of Isla's son, who had succeeded his father as Lord of the Isles, granted Lachlan Maclean various lands and "the privilege of fragmannach and armannach, in the island of Hy"—that is, the right to a tribute of labour hitherto due to the monastery, which doubtless received some equivalent instead. Fingon Macfingon or Mackinnon was Abbot at about this time, for we know that the chief of Clan Fingon in 1385 was his brother Neil. Abbot Fingon, "an able, crafty, and eloquent man," not of good character, was known as the Green Abbot.

In 1411 Donald invaded northern Scotland with the Islesmen on the pretext of a claim to the Earldom of Ross, and fought a fierce battle against the Lowland forces at Harlaw. Hector Maclean, second chief of Duart, who was Macdonald's leading officer, fell under his banner, and was borne from the battlefield by the MacInneses and MacIlvurichs and buried in Iona. This hero, Eachunn Ruadh nan Cath, or Red Hector of the Battles, is praised for his virtues as well as for his doughty deeds. The fight at Harlaw was indecisive, and Donald and his Highlanders had to retreat again to the safety of the Isles.

The sennachie, in his obituary notice of Lord Donald, presents to us another side of the warrior's character. "He was an entertainer of clerics, priests, and monks in his companionship, and he gave lands in Mull and Isla to the monastery of I, and every immunity which the monastery of I had from his ancestors before him. And he made a covering of gold and silver for the relic of the hand of Columkill, and he himself took the brotherhood of the order, having left a lawful and suitable heir in the government of Innsigal and of Ross, viz., Alastair, son of Donald. He

afterwards died in Isla, and his full noble body was interred on the south side of Teampull Odhrain."

Lord Donald's brother Ranald, progenitor of the Clanranald branch of the Macdonalds, was also buried in Reilig Odhrain, and their sister Mary, wife of Hector Maclean of Duart, in the church of the nuns. Ranald's three sons, Donald, Angus Reabhach, and Dugal, were buried with their father. Angus is said by the clan historian to have "taken upon him the brotherhood of the order of Mary in the church of I."

Lord Donald's son, Alastair or Alexander, succeeded him as Lord of the Isles in 1428, and a little before this a younger son, Angus, who had entered the sacred ministry, rose to be Bishop of the Isles. Iona did not own his episcopal jurisdiction, for in 1431 we find the abbot doing obeisance to the Bishop of Dunkeld as his ordinary, like his predecessors in the previous century. Bishop Angus Macdonald, nevertheless, willed to be buried in Iona Abbey at his death in 1437. "His noble fair body," says Macvurich the sennachie, "was interred, with his crosier and episcopal habit, in the transept on the south side of the great choir, which he selected for himself when alive."

Bishop Angus's authority was limited to the Scottish Isles, for Man by this time was firmly in possession of England, and the diocese was thus divided between the hostile nations, each of which seems to have chosen bishops. The Scots were shut out from the cathedral in Man, and had no other until the end of the century, when Iona was at last adopted for the purpose. Meanwhile the connection with Trondhjem was at length severed, and Man was annexed to the English and the Hebrides to the Scottish Church.

Alexander, like his father, invaded Scotland, but though the Islesmen reached Inverness the rising proved futile. He was preparing for another insurrection when he died. It is not said that he was buried in Iona. Bishop Angus and his

PLATE 21. ST. ORAN'S CHAPEL: WEST DOOR.

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cousins are the last of whom this is recorded by the sennachie, and the power of their house was now near to its downfall. In 1480, John, the son of Alexander, Lord of the Isles and Earl of Ross, was defeated in a sea-fight of the clans in a bay called ever since Badh na Fola, Bay of Blood, in the north of Mull, near Tobermory. His opponent was his own rebellious son Angus, supported by a faction of the Macdonalds and Allan Macrory of Moydart. Lord John and his lieutenant, Hector Odhar Maclean of Duart, were captured; William Macleod of Harris, "a renowned and brave warrior," was killed, and the heir of Macleod of Lewis mortally wounded. Lord John and his son came to an agreement later, but at last the turbulence of the clans led King James IV. to declare the Lordship of the Isles forfeited, in 1493. The old chief, the last Lord of the Isles, ended his days in Paisley Monastery after a few years as a pensioner at the court of King James. His title is now one of those borne by the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER X.

TO MODERN TIMES.

We have reached that troublous period at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, to which belong existing gravestones and other monuments of the families of Maclean, Macquarry, Mackinnon, MacIan, Mackenzie, and Macleod. The carved memorials of chiefs and prelates of these names which lie in Iona's holy places have a close relation with the local events of the time, and it will be well to continue the story from the preceding chapter.

King James IV. followed up the deprivation of the Lord of the Isles by coming to the west coast himself, in the same year, to receive the submission of that chief's late vassals. Some came to him at Dunstaffnage, and some at Sir John MacIan's castle of Mingary, in Ardnamurchan, and he gave charters to John Maclean of Lochbuie and others. Next year the King came to Kintyre, where his measures excited the Macdonalds to rebellion, and MacIan was employed to bring them to justice. Henceforth MacIan appears as the King's man. James came to him at Mingary again in 1495 to receive the submissions of more chiefs. Documents show that next year Hector Odhar resigned the Duart chieftainship to his son Lachlan.

Meanwhile the Abbot of Iona from at least 1489 was John Mackinnon, whose recumbent monument and broken cross are in the Cathedral. The prior or assistant superior in 1492 was Fingon, probably also a Mackinnon. A gravestone at Kirkapoll in Tiree bears his name as the donor, with the date just mentioned.

Abbot Mackinnon's term of office was marked by important events for the monastery. For a long time the bishop of the Scottish Isles had had no official church, for the only cathedral was St German's, Peel, in the Isle of Man, and both island and cathedral were in the hands of the English. Wherefore, according to the Privy Seal record of Scotland, in 1498 the Lord of Argyll sent "A letter to the Pape and ane to the Vice-chancellar for the erection of Colmkill in the bischoppis sete of the Ilis quhil his principale kirk in the Ile of Man be recoverit fra Inglismen." Its erection into the bishop's seat is only asked until the recovery of his principal kirk, for the thought could not be entertained that the Scots' loss of Man was more than temporary. And Argyll asks, because now there is no Lord of the Isles to do so. The Campbells of Lochawe had risen to be Earls of Argyll, and were high in power. This was Archibald, 2nd Earl, who afterwards fell leading the Scottish vanguard at Flodden.

The petition that Iona might be the bishop's cathedral was evidently granted. It was a natural choice, for the abbey was the largest and finest church in the Isles, and stood on Scotland's holiest ground. The bishop at the time was probably the Robert who is known to have been in the see in 1492. He seems to have been succeeded by Abbot John Mackinnon, for the bishop's name appears as John in 1506, and next year Bishop John, privy councillor to James IV., gets the offices of Bishop and Abbot united, so that the Bishop of the Isles shall hold the abbacy of Iona *in commendam* and receive its revenues. The poverty of the diocese was probably the reason for the arrangement.

Iona was in a wild neighbourhood for peaceful monks and nuns at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Islesmen broke into insurrection in 1503 to restore Donald Dubh, grandson of the last Lord of the Isles, to the forfeited Lordship. Two years later the flame died down, and the chiefs submitted or were suppressed. Torquil Macleod's

stronghold of Stornoway in Lewis was taken by the Earl of Huntly, and the chief probably fell in the fight, as he is heard of no more. In 1506 James IV. directs a letter to be written under his privy seal to Lachlan Maclean of Duart and nine other "landit men within the Ilis" not to meddle with any kirks, farms, or profits of John, bishop of Ylis, but to help the said bishop.

In 1509 Allan Macrory, chief of Clanranald, who had fought against the Lord of the Isles at Bloody Bay, was tried and hanged before the King at Blair-Atholl, in punishment for evil deeds. A Gaelic poem of the time, by Red Finlay the Bard, in the Dean of Lismore's Book, breaks out against Allan thus :—

"The one demon of the Gael is dead,
A tale 'tis well to remember,
Fierce ravager of church and cross.
* * * * *
Thou hast, not thine only crime,
Ravaged I and Reilig Odhrain ;
Fiercely didst thou then destroy
Priest's vestments and vessels for the mass.
* * * * *
At the time thou first mad'st war
There was the abbot's horrid corpse,
Besides that other lawless raid
Against Finan in Glengarry.
* * * * *
'Tis no wonder thou didst keep
Far away, Allan, from the gallows."

Here was evidently a sacrilegious marauder from whom both Iona and the church of Kilfinan at the east end of Loch Lochy suffered. An abbot seems to have lost his life, and although it is not clear that this was an Abbot of Iona, it looks like it, and as if the attack on the island might have been made amid the troubles of the Bloody Bay episode, in which Macrory was a leader of the insurgents. In the year of his execution, 1509, his son's name appears in a royal letter of protection to Prioress Agnes, daughter of Donald Maclean, and the sisters of Iona Nunnery. The King orders

PLATE 22. ABBOT MACKINNON'S MONUMENT.

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all men not to annoy or exact from them, but rather protect them, addressing especially the two Macleans and Ranald Alanson Macrory. Ranald met the same fate as his father at Perth four years later, for some unknown reason.

In this year, 1509, Bishop John Mackinnon died. Events of public importance followed, in which names connected with Iona reappear. Despite his strong hand, James IV. was popular in the Isles, and in 1513 the clans rallied to his banner for the English war. The Earl of Argyll (as has been said above), and also Maclean of Duart and many Highlanders, fell with the King at Flodden. Macleod of Harris and other Hebrideans, when they got back to the safety of their islands, took advantage of the national troubles to raise a fresh insurrection against their new King, James V. The new chief of Duart, Lachlan Cattanach Maclean, was one of the ringleaders. Proclaiming Sir Donald of Lochalsh as Lord of the Isles, they seized Carneburg, in the Treshnishes, north of Iona, and some other royal castles, and drove MacIan of Ardnamurchan out of Mingary, but were reduced in 1517 to sue for pardon. Next year MacIan lost his life in an encounter with some of his enemies. What seems to be his gravestone will be found described, with the others, at the end of the book.

Ferquhard, a new Bishop of the Isles, was admitted to the temporalities of the see and of the annexed abbey of Iona in 1530, and two years later, when the monks make a grant of lands, the deed is signed by Ferquhard, and the prior and several monks, showing that the arrangement for the bishop to hold the abbacy was in full force. A document mentions the appointment, by the Crown, of a monk of the monastery as chaplain of St. Oran's Chapel in 1542. Next year Prioress Anna, daughter of Donald Tearlach, died, as her gravestone in the Nunnery shows. In 1548 Mary Farquhardson of Maclean was prioress.

Donald Monro, Dean of the Isles, visited Iona and the other islands in 1549, and his little book gives us a last

glimpse of Iona before it became an ecclesiastical wreck about twelve years later. "Within this ile there is a monastery of mounckes, and ane uther of nuns, with a paroche-kirke, and sundrie uther chapells, dotat of auld by the kings of Scotland, and be Clandonald of the iyles." At the Reformation in 1561 the Scots Parliament passed its Act for demolishing all monasteries. The dispersed monks of Iona are said to have carried precious manuscripts and books to the Scots monastery at Ratisbon and the Scots colleges at Douay and Rome, but none of these relics have been identified. The probability is that the good library which the abbey certainly seems to have possessed perished, as others did elsewhere, at the hands of the mob.

The Nunnery escaped for about thirteen years longer, and Marion Maclean appears as prioress in a document of 1567, while in 1574 the ending of the community seems to be indicated by the grant of its various lands to Hector Maclean of Duart, by Prioress Mary Nikillean, with consent of the convent. Mary Nikillean is probably the same person as Marion Maclean above mentioned.

The old Scottish line of bishops died out soon after this, without handing on the succession. But Andrew Knox, who was made Bishop of Argyll and the Isles in the re-establishment of the episcopate (by consecration from England) in 1610-11, brings us again to our subject. When yet but a titular or unconsecrated bishop, he held an important convention of nine chiefs of the Highlands and Isles in Iona, on August 24, 1609. At this meeting the stipulations called the Statutes of Icolmkill were drawn up and subscribed, the chiefs binding themselves to repair the churches and provide for a parochial ministry, promote the keeping of Sunday, and reform some evil customs which were prevalent.

It does not appear that Bishop Andrew Knox lived in Iona. About 1620 he was translated from the Isles to the Irish see of Raphoe, and his son, Thomas Knox, "a man of learning and piety," parson of Soroby, in Tiree, and vicar of

Iona, succeeded him. The new bishop probably continued to live at Soroby. He died in 1626, and is presumably the Bishop Knox whose grave the traveller Martin saw in Iona Cathedral about seventy years later.

The documents show that Iona at this time belonged to the Bishop of the Isles, but after the death of Thomas Knox the Macleans took possession of it. King Charles I. writes from Whitehall on March 14, 1635, to Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart and Morvern, that whereas he and his late brother had seized "the Yle of Ycolmekill which belongeth to the Bischop of the Yles for the time, whairof they have been in peaciable possession these many years bypast," he was to "restore unto the said Bischope the absolute possession of the said Yland."

There are two other royal letters about Iona in the same year. The King orders the restoration to Iona of two bells which the first Bishop Knox had carried off to Ireland. And he writes to the Scots Lords of Exchequer to assign £400 sterling to the Bishop of the Isles "to repayre the Cathedrall Church of Icolmkill." The great political troubles leading up to the Civil War broke out soon afterwards, and must have put an end to such projects.

Leslie and Campbell, the two bishops after the Knoxes, do not seem to have had any recorded relations with Iona, nor yet the three bishops before the Revolution of 1688, who had their cathedral at Rothesay in the Isle of Bute. In the above year Sacheverell, Governor of Man, who had come to Mull to try to recover some of the contents of the Spanish galleon sunk in Tobermory Bay, paid a visit to Iona, which he has described in a small book. His picture of the religious observance of the people is touching. "Tho they have no minister, they constantly assemble in the great Church on Sundays, where they spend most part of the day in private Devotions." He describes "the Antient Altar of the Church" as remaining almost entire.

About 1688 Iona passed into the possession of the Duke

of Argyll. Some of the islanders took the field with the Maclean clan in 1745, when Prince Charlie's Highland army was destroyed at Culloden. In the hunting down of the survivors, King George's redcoats came to Iona after a Maclean who lived at the south end, near Port na Curaich, and who had been "out." A MacInnes boy ran and warned him, and they hid together in a cave until the man could escape from the island. The same MacInnes, when an old man, used to tell of a cave big enough to hold the whole population of the island, but he would not reveal its whereabouts. The story is recorded in Lord Archibald Campbell's book of Argyllshire stories.

Iona is a Presbyterian island, but its people will rightly expect some mention of an English clergyman whose name is handed down as a household word among them. Legh Richmond was Rector of Turvey in Bedfordshire from 1805 to his death in 1827, and was perhaps most widely known in the English religious world as the writer of a famous tale of piety, *The Dairyman's Daughter*. In 1820 and again in 1823 he visited Iona, where the regular religious ministrations were a quarterly visit from the minister in Mull, and a sermon read on Sundays by the worthy schoolmaster, Allan Maclean. Mr. Richmond gathered the people round him and preached to them the Word of God, sometimes in English to those who could understand, sometimes to all, with the schoolmaster interpreting into Gaelic sentence by sentence. "A rock my pulpit," he says in his diary, "and heaven my sounding-board; may the echo resound to their hearts." By his kindness and goodness he won the love of all, and the Legh Richmond Library, which was founded through his exertions, remains as a memorial of him in Iona village. The books continue to be added to, and are now housed in a good building, the erection of which is due to the efforts of the Rev. Archibald Macmillan, of Iona, and the generosity of that builder of libraries, Mr Andrew Carnegie.

If heathendom lay within sight from Iona's shores in the

PLATE 24. IN THE CATHEDRAL, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST. *Page* 96.

sixth century, by the middle of the nineteenth the power of steam had brought the heathen Eastern world within reach. And at this time a son of Iona, Charles Chapman MacArthur, revived the traditions of his birthplace by going forth as a missionary to distant Ceylon, after preparation at the English college of the Church Missionary Society. He was ordained deacon by the Bishop of London in 1857, before he left, and was raised to the priesthood by his bishop in Ceylon in 1861. He ministered at the mission stations of Nellore and Jaffna, and wrote books of Christian instruction for his Tamil flock in their own language. Mr. MacArthur was afterwards incumbent of a parish in Norfolk and was able to revisit Iona. He died in 1892.

In 1894 Bishop Chinnery-Haldane, of Argyll and the Isles, consecrated the chapel of the newly-built St. Columba's House, since called also the House of Retreat, and in the common parlance of the island the Bishop's House. The bishop used to visit Iona, and the people have the most friendly recollections of him, while he on his part writes once from the island in bad weather, "To me Iona always seems a happy and holy place." When he lay dying at the end of 1905 he said humbly to a friend, "I have tried to do something for dear Iona."

CHAPTER XI.

TOPOGRAPHY, FROM DÙN-I TO CÙL RI EIRINN.

THE very numerous place-names in Iona are Gaelic almost without exception, although a few translations are also in use, such as the Angels' Hill, the Bay of Martyrs, the White Sands. The meaning of some of the Gaelic names is quite uncertain, and some belong to the ecclesiastical vocabulary of the Columban monks and not to the modern language. Neither in the following survey of the island nor in the map is it possible to include more than a selection of the names.

Dùn-I (Hill of I). Plate 5.—The highest hill in the island, with a cairn on top. Dùn means a hill, or hill-fortress, and when Adamnan speaks of St. Columba and a companion sitting one day "on the hill called in Latin Munitio Magna," this is equivalent to "the great dùn" and may mean Dùn-I.

Tobar na h-Aois (Well of the Age) is a triangular pool of water beside a small crag on the northern brow of Dùn-I. Local tradition says it was believed in of old as a magic well which could restore lost youth to a woman bathing face and hands in its waters before sunrise, the proper incantations, no doubt, being also necessary. Enchanted wells were a feature of the ancient heathenism of Scotland and of later witchcraft and charm superstitions, but it is difficult to see how a fountain of youth could successfully maintain a reputation. The moment of sunrise, once sacred to old Celtic sun-worship, was a potent time for charms.

Dùn-I overlooks the north end of the island, where grassy meadows merge into drifted sands, with a well-scoured

knuckle of variegated rock rising up out of them near the north-east point.

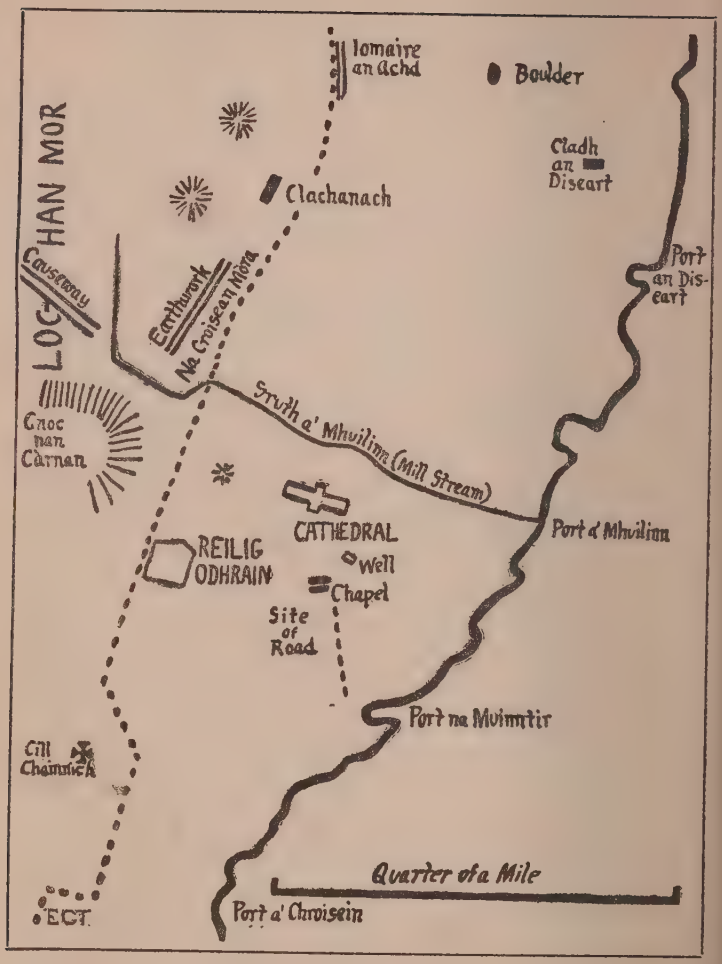
Tràigh Bhàn nam Manach (White Strand of the Monks) lies a little way down the coast of the Sound. (Pl. 2.) It is a stretch of beautiful sand smoothed twice a day by the tide, its northern limit marked by the rock called Sgeir nam Màrt. For the monk-martyrs whose memory lingers here see page 75.

Tobar Mhagh Luinge (Well of Magh Lunge or Moylunga, or might be rendered Shipfield Well).—In the field above Tràigh Bhàn; two springs side by side, joined by a curved connection, and green with water-cress. The name takes us back to earliest times, for Magh Lunge was the name of St. Columba's earliest monastery in Tiree, and it is natural to suppose that the name was bestowed in both islands at the same period.

Port na Fraing (Port of France), further down the coast, is a name as mysterious as the grave of the French king in Reilig Odhrain, unless Fraing represents the name Rankin, which is derived from it.

The plain from the hillocks above Port na Fraing to the mill-stream near the Cathedral contains in its central part the site of the first monastery, where St. Columba lived and died, if Dr. Skene's deductions are correct.

Sruth a' Mhuilinn, the Mill-stream, as it is still called from its ancient use, trickles down the bottom of its deep bed, from the marsh which was once the mill-pond, past the north side of the Cathedral to the seashore. Both a water-mill and hand-mills appear to have been in use in Columba's time. "The grinding of corn" which Adamnan alludes to as a regular task of the monks was probably done with querns or hand-mills, but he also records the erection of a memorial cross fixed in a millstone, presumably the heavier stone of a water-mill. He mentions, moreover, a kiln (for drying corn) and a granary, and Pennant saw by this stream "the ruins of a kiln, and a granary; and near it was the mill." Traces of



LANDMARKS OF THE MONASTERY.

buildings can still be seen on the high ground by the mill-stream, west of the road, and these remains, Pennant's earlier record of them, the Gaelic name of the stream, and the fact that there is none other that could have turned a mill, combine to make one believe that the buildings mentioned by Adamnan stood here from the first.

Na Croisean Mòra (the great Crosses) is the traditional though now almost obsolete name for the strip of ground north of the mill-stream, between the road and the line of earthworks on the west. The crosses were apparently the two which Adamnan says were set up to commemorate Ernan's death (see page 38). The place is in front of the kiln, as the narrative says.

The position of St. Columba's monastery can be deduced with great probability from the identification of the mill-stream and Na Croisean Mòra. Ernan, coming from Hinba, presumably landed at Port na Muinntir,* south-east of the present Cathedral, or at any rate at one of the ports south of the mill-stream. The monastery, whence the abbot came to meet him, was therefore some way north of their meeting-place at the kiln by the mill-stream. St. Columba's cell was somewhere near the house Clachanach, and as Adamnan describes it as built "in a somewhat higher place" than the others, the rest of the monastic settlement was on the slope below, towards the shore (see page 27). "The little hill overlooking the monastery," from which the Saint pronounced his last blessing upon it, might be one of the two hillocks behind Clachanach.

The remains of a line of earthworks are seen between the mill-stream and Clachanach, on the west side of the road. There is a great bank of earth mingled with stones, the top flat and with a parapet on either edge, a broad ditch on the west of the whole. The structure is best preserved at the north end, where also there is a three-sided space

* Port of the Community; see the next chapter for its contribution to the argument.

enclosed by mounds and known as *Cill-maghobhannain*, said to have been used as an unconsecrated burying place.

There was another section of earthworks extending further north, behind Clachanach, where the last piece of it was levelled in 1906 in order to build an addition to the rear of the house. In digging the bank away, the bones of a small horse were found carefully buried six feet deep in the hard stony embankment, and were restored to the earth, except a tooth. Was the horse thus honourably and laboriously interred in some past age the white horse in memory of whose farewell to his master, Columba, a wayside cross was set up?

All this line of earthworks seems to have made up the *vallum monasterii* mentioned by Adamnan, outside of which the cattle were kept. It marked the enclosure of the monks, who, according to monastic rules, would not go outside of it without their superior's permission. They may not have built it all themselves. The remaining section, between the mill-stream and Clachanach, may be partly natural, or perhaps a prehistoric bit of fortification. St. Columba founded Derry Monastery in a fort of his clan, and his missionaries from Iona converted a Pictish fort into a monastery, at Deer, on the other side of Scotland, so something similar may have occurred in Iona.

Iomaire an Achd (Ridge of the Act) is a mound or terrace, now almost obliterated by the road, a little way north of Clachanach. It was not part of the enclosing *vallum* of the monastery, but a parallel mound within the enclosure, near the supposed site of the abbot's house, and overlooking the community buildings. An aged informant, the crofter of Clachanach, impressed upon the writer that the name Iomaire an Achd, which has sometimes been misapplied to the earthwork running north from the mill-stream, belonged to this place, "where the cross is," viz., the modern granite cross by the wayside. He added, as the local tradition, that "they"—presumably the monks—

used to meet in council on Iomaire an Achd in order to form decisions on great matters. If so, it would seem to have been a council hill, moot hill, or dùn a' mhòid, such as Celts and Scandinavians used to build in ancient times. Perhaps the "convention of the elders" sat there who chose St. Aidan from their number for the English mission in the year 635, as described by the Venerable Bede.

The great tabular glacial boulder which has been already mentioned in connection with the geology of the island, lies between Iomaire an Achd and the Sound, and Skene has pointed out how well it answers to a stone which some old Irish documents say was in the refectory of St. Columba's monastery. One scribe's preface to St. Columba's great poem *Altus Prosator* speaks of "the stone that is in the refectory in Hi; and the name of that stone is Moel-blatha, and luck was left on all food that is put thereon." In two other manuscripts of the preface it is "a certain stone that was in the monastery, *i.e.*, Blathnat its name, and it still exists, and upon it division is made in the refectory." The stone survived the monastery, for the scribes who say "it still exists" wrote in the eleventh century.* It was so remarkable that it had a special name, which is considered to mean "flat stone of division."† The scribes mention the stone in order to relate how Columba composed a certain hymn, *Adjutor laborantium*, while carrying a heavy sack of oats, taken from off the stone, to the mill. However that may be, the scribe had in mind a refectory and mill a considerable distance apart. Everything fits the stone which is still to be seen in Iona, near the spot which there are independent reasons for regarding as the site of the first monastery. The refectory which enclosed the stone, to serve as a table or sideboard, was no doubt a wood and wattle building of the old Irish kind.

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* See the critical edition of the Altus in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, H. Bradshaw Soc., 1897.

† W. M. Hennessy, cited in Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, II., p. 100, footnote.

Cladh an Diseart (Burial-ground of the Hermitage) is a little way south-east of the boulder stone, on the landward side of a low wet meadow by the seashore—a lonely spot, whence the curlew flies, with a plaintive cry, at the intruder's approach. Two rough granite pillars, at present supporting a piece of farm fence, used to have a third stone across the top, forming a rude gateway, which Mr. Champneys classes with early Christian examples in Ireland. This was the western entrance to a small enclosure, in which Skene and Drummond excavated, about 1880, and uncovered the foundations of an oblong building, twenty-six feet by seventeen, pointing due east, and with what looks like an altar-place at the east end. A hermit's cell of about the same size and shape is still standing (or was so till recently) in North Rona, off the north of Lewis, and the eastern compartment contains an altar-stone at the east end. It was not uncommon for a hermitage to consist of a living-room and an oratory for celebrating the Eucharist. Dr. G. T. Stokes* gives an instructive instance of daily celebration by an Irish hermit on the Continent in the eleventh century. "One of the most celebrated Irish scholars and writers of the Middle Ages was Marianus Scotus of Maintz. He was an enclosed anchorite, and tells us himself that he daily said mass standing on the grave of his predecessor, and with his own grave open beside him."

The word "disert" is unknown in present-day Gaelic, but it was a common old Irish term when the Celtic Church flourished in Iona. Irish monasteries often had a disert near by, consisting of one or more hermits' cells. The Iona disert seems to have been for a solitary anchorite; and MacGilladuff (page 77) is called the "disertach" or desert-man, in 1164, as if it were the title of one special person. The earlier hermits of Iona mentioned in the Irish annals—Abbot Cillene Droicteach in the eighth century, and

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* *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 180, with ref. to Colgan, *AA. SS.*, p. 205.

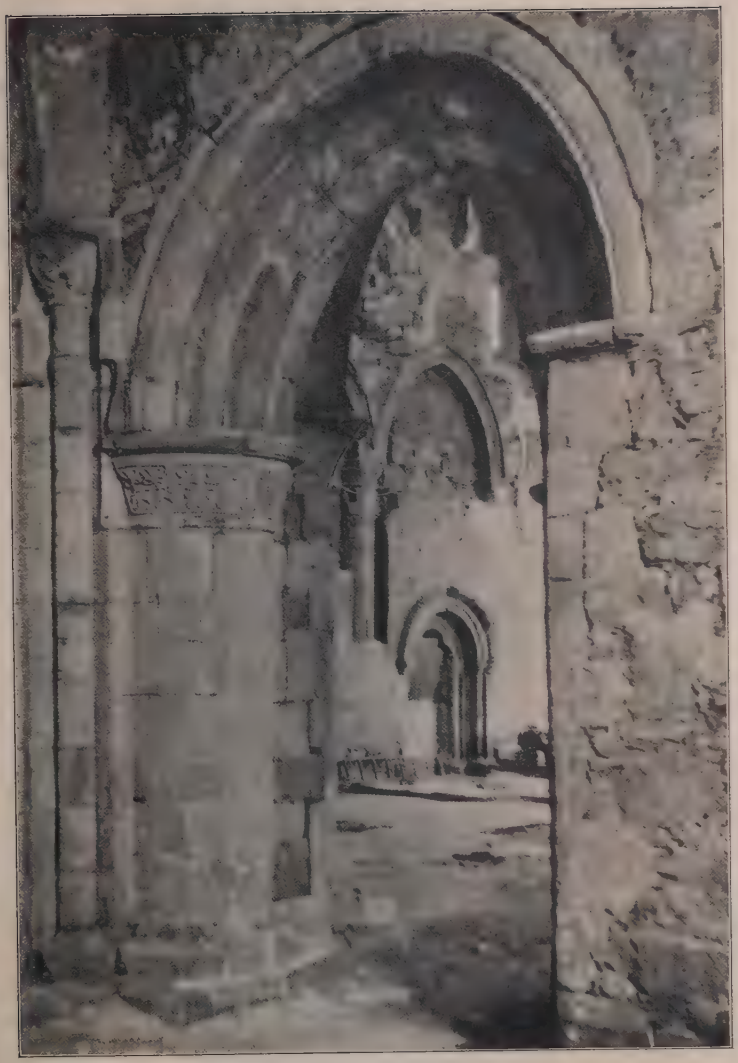


PLATE 25. CHOIR OF CATHEDRAL FROM SOUTH TRANSEPT. *Page* 104.

PLATE 26. CHOIR-AISLE OF CATHEDRAL. *Page* 104.

the tanist Angus Mac Muircetaigh and Bishop Finghin in the tenth—may have been tenants of the disert, though they are not called disertach, and there were other cells in the island.

On the Celtic hermits, see pages 18 *seq.* A hermit was often buried in or beside his cell; and the Cladh or burial-ground of the Disert may have originated with the graves of the hermits. Another name for it is *Cladh Iain*, St. John's Cemetery. An ancient gravestone found near here is in the Cathedral.

Port an Diseart (Landing-place of the Hermitage) is a straight sandy channel through the rocks in the shore south-east of the Disert, with which it seems to have been connected by a path across the wet meadow. This may even have been a communication with the first monastery. The Port has the present reputation of being a safe landing-place for boats, even when others are dangerous.

Lochan Mòr (Great Pond) lies on the west of the road and earthen rampart, and extends towards the southern slopes of Dùn-I. It was originally the monastery mill-pond; and though now drained to a bog, the mill-stream still trickles from it. According to the Statistical Account (1798), "It is said the edges of this pond were all planted." Peats have been cut in it, but it never could have supplied much fuel; and the islanders had to cross to Mull to cut their peats, the place of which is now supplied by coal from Glasgow.

Iomaire an Tàchair (Ridge of the Causeway).—A roadway of earth and stones, 220 yards long and 22 feet broad, built up high above the boggy Lochan, which it crosses in a north-westerly direction. When the Lochan was a sheet of water, the causeway must have traversed it like a bridge; and there are signs of a continuation of it as a road to the Hermit's Cell, next to be mentioned. Perhaps it was built by Abbot Cillene Droicteach (see page 64). The Statistical Account (1798) gives the name as "Iomaire Tàchair, which

signifies a paved causeway." Dr. Joyce, in *Irish Names for Places*, says that tóchar is an old term for a raised roadway across a bog or similar place. The causeway has also an English name, which is doubtless more recent, the Bishop's Walk, because (they say in the island) "the bishop" used to walk out by it to pray at the Hermit's Cell.

The Hermit's Cell (Plate 3).—In the middle of the wild north-western tract of the island is a small hill with a precipitous western face, known as Cnoc nam Bradhan, Hill of the Querns.* At a little distance, the foundation of an almost circular cell about eighteen feet in greatest diameter is discernible in the turf and heather. It has now also stones piled on it. A little more than a century ago, the Statistical Account described the cell as "the foundation of a small circular house, upon a reclining plane. From the door of the house, a walk ascends to a small hillock, with the remains of a wall upon each side of the walk, which grows wider to the hillock. There are evident traces of the walls of the walk taking a circuit round, and enclosing the hillock." No traces seem now to remain of this walk from the cell to the hill, though at the foot of the latter there are remains of a stone "fang" or sheep-pen.

According to Dr. Skene, the Gaelic name Cobhan Cuildich connected with this place does not mean the Culdee's Cell, as it is popularly translated, but the Secluded Hollow, and appertains to the piece of ground, not to the cell. The Culdees of Iona belonged to the end of the island's Celtic history, and seem to have lived in the monastery. On the other hand, this cell, a similar one further south-west, near Dùn Bhuirg, and the rectangular one in Cladh an Diseart, look like the abodes of solitaries, perhaps some of the Iona hermits already mentioned.

A carcair—as the Irish called the beehive hut of a hermit

* A quern is a Highland handmill of two round flat stones.

—was built by piling flat stones one upon another in a circle, and projecting inwards, till a dome was formed. There was a low doorway to crawl through, and sometimes, as at Elachnave (the ancient Hinba), two cells were joined together, forming a building of two compartments.

Carcairs were in use also as places of temporary retirement for prayer and contemplation. St. Columba used one in Hinba, undergoing a three days' trance in it (Chapter IV.), and in an old Irish poem written in his name he thus expresses his feelings :—

"At times kneeling to beloved heaven
At times at psalm-singing,
At times at work without compulsion,
This would be delightful ;
At times giving food to the poor,
At times in a carcair."

It is quite possible that this cell was one of the Saint's prayer places. Its position looking out over the ocean towards Tiree suits Adamnan's description of the place among the bushes, remote from men and meet for prayer, where Columba went to pray one day, and beheld (perhaps in a storm of thunder and lightning) hosts of demons fighting with darts in the sky, above Iona, but at last driven off to Tiree. I am indebted for this suggestion to Skene's paper on the Earlier Establishments in Iona, in the Proceedings of the Antiquaries of Scotland.

Tobar na Gaoith Tuaith (Well of the North Wind).—A spring to the north of Cnoc nam Bradhan and the Hermit's Cell is known by this name to some of the people, from old tradition.* Mariners wishing to sail southward used to come here with their offerings to charm up a wind from the north, watching for it to ruffle the blue ocean out by distant Coll as it approached. The ceremony may have been similar to that of a wind-well in Gigha, where the water was thrown

* Others give this name to the old stone coffin lying by the Cathedral door, which, like the well, is said to have been used for ceremonies with water to raise a wind.

out towards the point the wind was to come from. Iona had also a Well of the South Wind, whose whereabouts is now forgotten.

Dùn Bhuirg (Hill of the Fort).—A steep eminence, supposed to show traces of fortification on the summit, on the west side of the island, north of the Machair. The Gaelic language borrowed the word "burg" from the Vikings when they were masters of the Isles. A round foundation, like the Hermit's Cell by Cnoc nam Bradhan, in a reedy hollow south-east of the Dùn, is quite likely to have been another hermitage.

Gleann an Teampuill (Glen of the Church). See p. 81. There was an old burial-ground at the head of the glen, but its traces are no longer visible. The glen is sometimes called Gleann Cùlbhuirg, from the farm at its west end.

A' Mhachair (the Plain) is a large level meadow overlooking the western bay. Adamnan calls it Campulus Occidentalis, the Western Plain, and speaks of St. Columba's monks labouring there at the harvest. The bay or Camus, which appears in part in Plates 4 and 12, has a long curving shore, doubtless the scene of Adamnan's story of the crane from Ireland. Poll-eirinn (Pool of Ireland), at the north end of the Camus, is said to have been a landing-place for Irish smugglers in more recent times.

Sithean Mòr (Great Fairy-mound), or the *Angels' Hill* (Pl. 11).—This is a smooth grassy hillock on the west side of the island, just south of the road to the Machair. Adamnan 1200 years ago wrote down its name in Latin as Colliculus Angelorum, "little hill of the angels," and in Gaelic as Cnoc Angel, but Sithean Mòr is now its commonest Gaelic name. In Pennant's time it had on its summit "a small circle of stones, and a little *cairn* in the middle," and it may have been sacred before Christianity in Iona.

Pennant also says—"Bishop Pocock informed me, that the natives were accustomed to bring their horses to this circle at the feast of St. Michael, and to course round it.

I conjecture that this usage originated from the custom of blessing the horses." As a matter of fact, a general cavalcade of everybody was one of the ceremonies with which Michaelmas Day was celebrated throughout the Western Isles, and the earlier traveller, Martin, describes it in Tiree and elsewhere. Michael of the Snow-white Steeds appears with Mary Mother and Kind Columkill, in the old songs and hymns of the Islesmen, as a great protector by sea and shore.

Sithean Beag (Little Fairy-mound) is a smaller hillock resembling the Angels' Hill, on the other side of the road and nearer the sea.

Cnoc Odhrain (St. Oran's Hill) is in the middle of the island, on the north side of the central plain and road, with a crofter's house bearing the same name beside it. See Chapter IV. for St. Oran.

Cnoc Ciarain (St. Kieran's Hill) is near Sligneach, north of the road running inland. On St. Kieran, see page 16.

Cnoc Druidean (meaning uncertain).—The low peak in the middle of the barrier of hills which crosses the island on the south side of the central plain. Though the Cnoc is but a gentle acclivity, the view from the summit is striking.

Loch Staonaig.—A small marshy piece of water in the middle of the southern tract of the island. Staonaig, the name of this locality, may perhaps best be translated "inclining ground."

The Spouting Cave (Uamh an t-seididh, Reeves).—A flooded cavern in the western sea-cliffs, with a "blow-hole" or cleft in its roof, through which the waves throw a column of water high into the air at certain states of the tide. There are also other caves in these cliffs. See Plate 4.

Eilean Maolmhartainn (Maelmartin's Island) is near the south-west corner of Iona. See the map. Maelmartin (Devotee or Servant of Martin) may have been one of the ancient Celtic monks of Iona. Similar names were given in honour of various saints, *e.g.*, for St. Columba, Maelcolum or

Malcolm (Servant of Colum). Maol means bald, or tonsured like a monk or a servant, hence its significance in these names. Maol is also used for a round bare hilltop, and in this sense is probably the origin of the name of Mull, whose bare mountainous coasts present this aspect conspicuously.

Druim Dhùghaill (Dugal's Ridge).—On the east side. A fine headland overlooking the Sound. The Pigeons' Cave — a deep cleft in the rock, just to the south — is a favourite habitation of the Wild Pigeon. The descent to this picturesque place is shown in Plate 27. Further south is the Marble Quarry.

The southern end of Iona is broken into secluded and beautiful bays, with green hollows sloping down to them. The bay nearest the Sound is Port Goirtean Iomhair, Bay of Ivor's Garth or enclosure, and traces of former buildings are visible above it.

Port na Curaich, the historic Bay of the Coracle (Plates 8 and 9). Here tradition says that Columba and his twelve stepped out of their Irish boat of wicker and oxhide on to Iona's shore. A high pebble beach has been heaped up by the Atlantic swell rolling in from the south-west. A rock islet at the water's edge divides the haven into two, the eastern half being Port na Curaich proper. Dangerous sea-rocks flank the bay. Among the variegated stones of the beach are found the pebbles of translucent green serpentine known as Iona stone, which were an old charm against drowning. A long grassy mound at the head of the bay was supposed to contain the historic coracle buried within it, but when it was dug into a few years ago nothing was found. It has been suggested that it is one of the "long barrows" or grave-mounds of the prehistoric Stone Age.

At the western end of the pebble beach the stones are piled up into cairns, of which Pennant says "a vast tract near this place was covered with heaps of stones, of unequal sizes: these, as is said, were the penances of monks." Reeves pronounces them "probably sepulchral." Perhaps

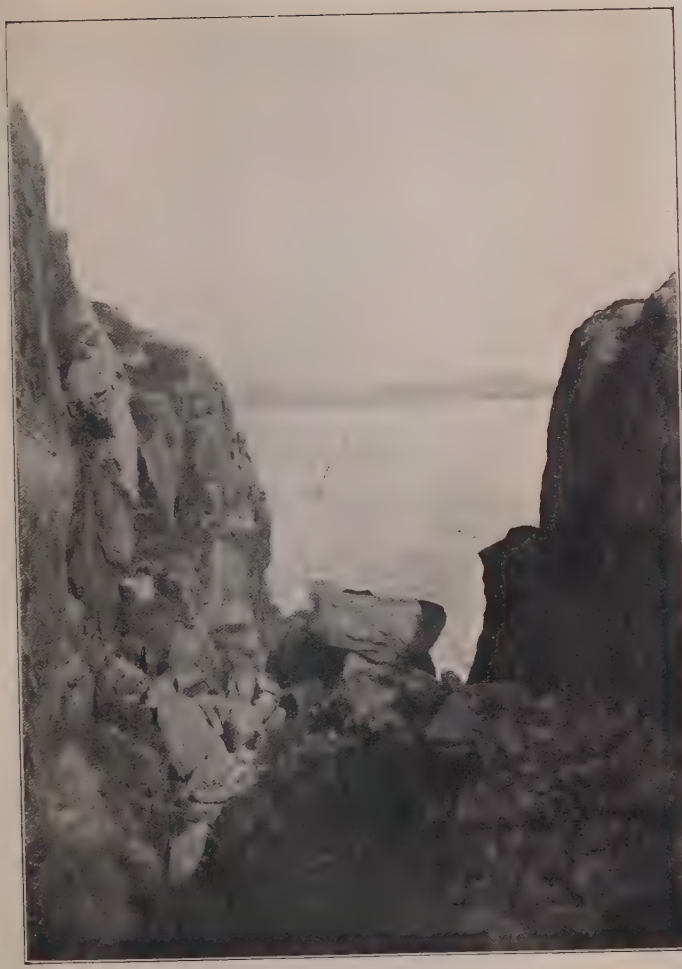


PLATE 27. THE GORGE BY THE PIGEONS' CAVE. *Page* 110.

this was the cemetery of the men who lived at the head of the next bay, called Port Làraichean from the remains of their huts.

Garadh Eachainn Oig (Garden of Young Hector), near the head of Port na Curaich, is said to take its name from Hector Maclean, one of the Duart family. See the story of a Maclean, perhaps the same, on page 96. There are numerous traces of little buildings hereabouts.

Port Làraichean (Bay of Ruins) lies west of Port na Curaich, beyond the intervening headland. On the grassy lawn above the shore are the foundations of about six or seven round stone huts of different sizes, and a larger and squarer one abutting on a face of rock. These are declared by Dr. Reeves to be "the traces of by far the oldest buildings in the island. The spot is a beautiful recess, enclosed by high rocks all round, and open only toward the sea, where the inclination of the ground towards the water is remedied by an artificial terrace." The hamlet could be well defended with bows and arrows, but whether it was the home of Picts or Scots who lived before Columba, or of later monks or hermits, is unknown.

The little islets and sea-rocks lying to the south here are numerous and varied. Soa, the largest and most southerly islet, was probably the monastery seal-farm, and is still frequented by these creatures. Eilean na h-Aon Chaorach, Isle of One Sheep, is so called because that is the capacity of its pasturage.

Port Aoineadh an Taghain and Port Aoineadh nan Sruth, the last two bays of the south coast, are named from a Polecat Cliff and Cliff of Tides, as the Gaelic may be rendered. At the latter bay, the south-western heights of Iona fall away precipitously to a lower piece of coast, jutting westward into the sea.

Càrn Cùl ri Eirinn (Cairn of the Back to Erin) stands on this south-western height, which is known as Druim an Aoinidh, Ridge of the Cliff. The tradition that the cairn

commemorates and is named from Columba's farewell to Erin is favoured by the ancient Irish poem, a translation of which forms the first Appendix to this book. In this composition Columba claims Cùl ri Eirinn as his mystical name, and even if he was not the actual author of the poem, it is at any rate an early piece of evidence for the name.

But, on the other hand, the Iona cairn is only one of several of the same name in the Isles. There is one in Colonsay, and another on the neck of land in the middle of Mull near Ben More, where also is a Càrn Cùl ri Albainn, Cairn of the Back to Alba (Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I., p. 228). It has been surmised that they marked the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Dalriada, for according to Skene, "the term Alban applied to the country beyond the frontier of Dalriada, and the term Eire to Dalriada as being a colony of Scots from Eire." If we suppose the cairns to date from that remote time when the Picts still held the Outer Hebrides and down to the middle of Mull, a traveller would turn his back to Eire (cùl ri Eirinn) in sailing from the Irish territory of Colonsay or Iona towards the Outer Isles, or in crossing the middle neck of Mull northward. Conversely he would turn his back to Alba or Pictland in passing south in Mull where the Cùl ri Albainn cairn stands. These conditions belong to a period as early as Columba, or earlier.

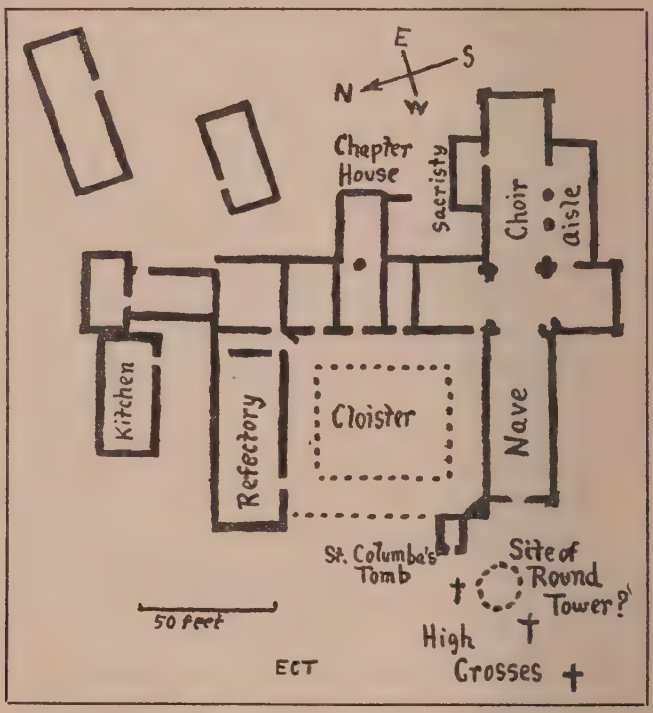
CHAPTER XII.

THE CATHEDRAL AND SURROUNDINGS.

IONA village lies between the Sound and Cnoc Mòr, with the ruins of the Nunnery in its midst, near the slope of the hill. From Cnoc Mòr a line of lesser heights runs north, terminating near the mill-stream, where a spur of hill abuts on the west side of the road, opposite Reilig Odhrain and the Cathedral. The embankment north of the mill-stream forms an extension of the line of hills on the south. Reilig Odhrain and the mill and accompanying buildings belonged to the first monastery, but the rest of it lay further north, whereas the later Celtic monastery was south of the stream, on the Cathedral site.

St. Mary's Cathedral.—It has been already mentioned that although the Benedictine monastery was named after St. Columba, the church was dedicated to St. Mary. It is a cruciform building, with a massive square central tower seventy-five feet high. The choir and nave are each sixty-four feet in length. An architects' description by Messrs. Buckler, in Bishop Ewing's *Iona*, says that "the remains of the north transept, the lower half of the tower, the north wall of the choir and nave, and a fragment on the south side, are the most ancient portions of the present structure, and may be assigned to the twelfth century." The builder has left his name upon it, in the now mutilated inscription, DONALDUS O'BROLCHAN FECIT HOC OPUS, on the capital of the south-east pier of the tower (Pl. 24, the clustered pillar on the extreme right). The name is Irish, and the Donald O'Brolchan who "made this work" can be reasonably identified with "Donald O'Brolchan, a prior," whose

death is recorded in the Ulster Annals for 1203, about the time the Benedictines came to Iona. Another of the family, Flaherty O'Brolchan, who had been invited to Iona forty years before (see page 77), had distinguished himself



GROUND-PLAN OF THE ABBEY.

by building "the great church of Derry," where he was abbot, and Donald was presumably prior of Iona and built his church there just before the Columban monks were ousted by the Benedictines.

A recent investigator, Dr. Honeyman, has come to the conclusion that this first church had a crypt under the chancel, the most conspicuous sign being the arcade of two arches in the north wall of the choir, six feet above the present floor. This arcade is thought to have been part

of a chapel above a stairway down to the crypt. The choir floor has subsequently been lowered six feet, thus doing away with the crypt, and on this new level a door has been made from the choir into the chamber below the arcade, now called the sacristy, but supposed to have been originally a lower chapel at the bottom of the crypt stairs. In Pl. 25 the door and part of the earlier arcade above it are seen through the arches of the south transept and aisle. Perhaps the crypt was the cause why the church, instead of being correctly orientated like the older chapel beside it, was widely deflected to the south-east by its builders, as if to take advantage of the slope of ground in that direction to construct the crypt without much excavation. When the crypt was abolished in enlarging the church, the floors were accommodated to the slope, and Pl. 26 shows how they fall away in steps to the south and east.

The crypt would be suitable to contain the relic-shrine of St. Columba, which, although believed to be in Ireland in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, seems as a matter of fact to have been translated to and fro as in earlier times. We do not know what became of the shrine when the church passed to the Benedictines, but the crypt was eventually abolished, and the whole church was widened twelve feet on the south. To quote Messrs. Buckler again, "The east end and the south wall of the choir, the south transept, the west front, and the greater part of the south side of the nave, and the belfry appear to be all of one date, and to have been built early in the fourteenth century, on a plan of larger dimensions than those of the pre-existent church."

CONSECRATION CROSS IN SOUTH TRANSEPT (REDUCED).

A small consecration cross, in a circle, is carved on the east wall of the south transept, where it opens into the choir aisle (Plate 25, on the right), and there are some less distinct ones on the outside walls. Consecration crosses

were carved or painted on the walls of a new church, to mark places for the bishop to anoint with oil in the ceremony of consecrating the building. It was usual in England and Scotland to have twelve crosses inside and the same number outside, while on the Continent they only marked them inside the building.

Ferguson points out, in his *History of Architecture*, that the Iona buildings are exceptional and Continental in design, and that in the Cathedral "the circular pier-arch is used with the mouldings of the thirteenth century, and the pointed arch is placed on a capital of intertwined dragons, more worthy of a Runic cross or tombstone than a Gothic edifice. The tower windows are filled with quatrefoil tracery, in a manner very unusual, and a mode of construction is adopted which does not perhaps exist anywhere else in Britain."

The capitals of the tower piers, and of the pillars between the choir and its southern aisle, are carved with foliage and grotesque monsters, groups of men and strange beasts, and some religious subjects. On the pillar inscribed with O'Brolchan's name and the aisle pillars the groups seem to be the following:—An ox held head and tail by two men, with a third standing by; above, a dog chases a hare —the expulsion from Eden—a man holding a huge beast by a rope—the Crucifixion—an enthroned figure between two angels, one with a harp—St. Peter striking off the ear of Malchus—an angel weighing souls, with a fiend depressing one scale with his claw—dragons and other monsters—a mounted spearman, followed by a footman with helm and axe.

There are carved Gothic sedilia, or seats for the celebrant with his deacon and subdeacon at High Mass, on the south side of the sanctuary. Sacheverell wrote of his visit in 1688:—"There is one thing yet which is very noble in its kind, which was the Antient Altar of the Church, one of the finest pieces of white Marble I ever saw; it is about

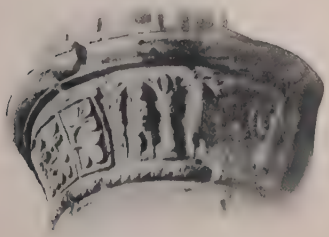


PLATE 28. CAPITALS OF PILLARS IN CATHEDRAL. *Page* 116.

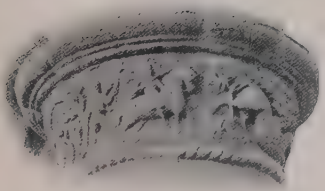


PLATE 29. CAPITALS OF AISLE PILLARS. *Page* 116.

6 feet long, and 4 broad, curiously vein'd and polish'd, it is all yet entire, except one Corner, which has been broke by Accident." By Pennant's time, a century later, most of it had been broken and carried off by visitors.

Statistical Account (1798):—"The cathedral, or St. Mary's, is almost entire. It is only within these few years that part of the east end of the transverse fell, and some of the head of the cross. Most of the cloisters are still standing. The Bishop's, which is small, is still standing." Pennant (1772) gives some additional information about the Cathedral:—"From the south east corner are two parallel walls about twelve feet high, and ten feet distant from each other. At present they are called *Dorus Tràgh*, or the door to the shore; are supposed to have been continued from the cathedral to the sea, to have been roofed, and to have formed a covered gallery the whole way."

The nave of the Cathedral is in ruins, and the rest stood roofless until the beginning of the present century, when it was roofed and repaired and a large rose window was built in the north transept.

The ruins of the Benedictine monastery adjoin the Cathedral on the north. The square cloister has the church nave on its south side, the refectory on the north side, and on the east it opens into the chapter house. The apartment above the latter is believed to have been the library. The kitchen stands north of the refectory, and a kitchen midden of bones, shells, and other refuse was unearthed between the two buildings some years ago.

The Abbot's House is the traditional name for the square foundation in front of the Cathedral, near the rocky hillock which rises there. The Statistical Account of 1798 includes among the buildings which have fallen "within the memory of some people still living—the abbot's house, which is said to be a very handsome building."

Tigh an Easbuig, the Bishop's House, is the fragment of ruin just north of the Cathedral and mill-stream. Some of

the pre-Reformation Bishops of the Isles may have lived in Iona, and the later ones, who lived elsewhere, may have used the house at times, but there are no records. Sacheverell's account (1688) is quaint. "I therefore quitted the enclosure, to examine the Palace of the Ancient Bishops. It stood to the North without the bounds of the Church, and consisted of a large Hall open to the Roof, a Chamber I suppose he us'd a Ladder to get into, and under the Chamber a Buttery; the Roof is now fall'n in."

In the north-east of the Cathedral enclosure stands a small oblong church, thirty-three feet by sixteen, with walls of rude masonry and pointed gables, in a roofless condition. In its general aspect, simple plan without chancel, and the smallness of its size, it resembles old stone churches in Ireland, and seems to belong to the Irish or Celtic Church period in Iona. Pointing, as it does, due east, the difference of orientation between it and the choir of the Cathedral is conspicuous. We may suppose that it stood there before Donald O'Brolchan built the original of the greater building, and was therefore an earlier church of the monastery. The foundation of another building about twice as large and agreeing in orientation lies to the north, near the wall of the enclosure. It may have been the refectory of the same period.

There are other traces of this late Celtic monastery. In front of the Cathedral is the site of the round tower (see pages *72 seq.*) A stone coping which was popularly supposed to belong to a well stands on the spot. It forms no part of the tower, but Mr. P. MacGregor Chalmers, the architect for the Cathedral, excavated here in 1908 and found a larger round foundation, six feet thick, which he conjectured to be the base of such a tower.

Close at hand is a more ancient relic of the Celtic period. The traveller Martin, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, says, "Near to the West end of the Church in a little Cell lies Columbus his Tomb, but without Inscription." The

tradition thus recorded belongs to the little ruined chamber 10½ feet by 7½ attached to the north-west corner of the nave. It is popularly called St. Columba's Grave, and the two stone receptacles in it are called his coffin and that of Diormit, his attendant. In Chapter VII. Skene's supposition is put forward that this was an oratory containing the shrine of St. Columba's relics, and perhaps St. Blathmac's. Mr. Champneys,* like Dr. Skene before him, points out the resemblance of the little building to the oldest Irish stone oratories or chapels, especially Labba Molaga, or St. Molaga's Bed, near Cork, which contains an altar and on the south side a coffin-like stone cist.

If the monks moved to this site at the beginning of the ninth century, when the Danish attacks began, the little oratory may be as old as that. From its architecture it might be much older. The round tower would be at least a century later, and the other two buildings also later.

There is a little space in front of the oratory, with late Celtic gravestones. The broken shaft of St. John's Cross stands outside, and to the south the broken St. Matthew's Cross and the great Cross of St. Martin. On all these see the next chapter. There is also a stone coffin near the Cathedral door.

The Benedictine cloister extends northward from St. Columba's Tomb, but there was an earlier building here. Dr. Skene, writing in 1875,† says that "recent excavations have laid bare the foundations of what seem to have been cells," on the west side of the cloister, "and likewise an enclosure projecting beyond, and, in fact, enclosing the cell usually considered to be the sepulchre of Saint Columba." And in 1908 Mr. Chalmers, the architect already mentioned, "traced the foundations of the outer wall" of a range of buildings west of the cloister. Thus there seems to have

* On Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture, in *Architectural Review*, August, 1905.

† The Early Establishments at Iona, in *Proceedings Soc. Antiquaries of Scotland.*

been a central community house, having on the east the small church and the other detached building whose remains are visible, and on the west the round tower and high crosses, contiguous to the little oratory of the shrine. There were outlying chapels also, for St. Mary's, St. Oran's, St. Kenneth's, St. Ronan's, and Cladh an Diseart are Celtic sites. Such, in its full development, was the monastery which the Danes ravaged in the ninth and tenth centuries, St. Margaret restored in the eleventh, and the fall of the Celtic Church of Scotland brought to an end after another hundred years.

The rocky hillock between the front of the Cathedral and the road used to be known as Torr Abb (Abbot's Mount). The supposition that it is the hill from which St. Columba gave his farewell blessing to his monastery seems to be incorrect, and the name must have another origin. Perhaps it was so called from its proximity to the "Abbot's House" just east of it. Reeves says of it, "Immediately opposite the west entrance of the Cathedral is a small rocky eminence called Torr Abb, Abbot's Tower, on which there formerly stood a cross." Pennant says, "To the west of the convent is the abbot's mount, overlooking the whole." Not many years ago the Cathedral enclosure extended only to the Abbot's House, so that the boundary wall passed east of Torr Abb and it was outside the precincts.

Dùn nam Manach (Monks' Fort).—The spur of hill abutting on the west side of the road opposite the Cathedral enclosure has once been fortified, and the mounds on its remoter face show where the encircling wall ran. The name is not current now, but Skene thinks this hill is what Martin refers to when, after speaking of St. Martin's Cross, he goes on—"At a little further distance is Dun ni Manich, *i.e.*, Monks' Fort, built of Stone and Lime, in form of a bastion, pretty high. From this Eminence the Monks had a view of all the Families in the Isle, and at the same time enjoy'd the free Air." The stone bastion has become a turf-covered mound since 200 years ago.

Near Monks' Fort, in Martin's time, were certain stones called the Black Stones, not from their colour, which he says was grey, but because of the black doom of anyone who broke an oath sworn upon them. "Mack Donald King of the Isles deliver'd the Rights of their Lands to his Vassals in the Isles and Continent, with up-lifted hands, and bended knees on these black Stones." Precisely what and where these stones were has been much discussed. For an old instance of their use see page 86.

Tobar a' Cheathain is Dr. Reeves's spelling and Well of the Showers his translation of the name of a spring which gushes out of the slope a little way south-east of the Cathedral enclosure, and is protected by a slab of stone laid over it. The islanders call it the Bishop's Well in English. They pronounce the Gaelic name *topar a cayan*, but its meaning is uncertain, and may refer to some ancient saint.

St. Mary's Chapel (Caibeal Mhuire).—In the field south-east of the Cathedral. Its orientation agrees with the old church beside the Cathedral. Nothing is left but the remains of the two side walls, and the space between them is filled up with a deep mass of rubbish. Dr. Reeves remarks, "The interior was used for burial in Pennant's time (iii. p. 254), and several tombstones have been found in it, but without any inscription." This ruin appears in the background of St. Martin's Cross in Plate 35.

Port na Muinntir.—A small cove and sand-beach in the rocky coast, south-east of the Cathedral and St. Mary's Chapel and directly below Reilig Odhrain. The traces of a road have been observed, which led up from it towards the Cathedral. The upper course of this road would naturally pass between St. Mary's Chapel and the Well opposite. Compare what Pennant says of a covered way, page 117.

The name of the Port is of considerable interest. Muinntir is common Gaelic for "family" or "people," and it is said that the village used to lie above this point, much nearer the Cathedral than now. But muinntir is also an old

word, and was used by the Celtic Church for a monastic community or order, and such terms as the muinntir of Ia, or community of Iona, and muinntir of Columkill, or order of St. Columba, are found in the Irish annals. In fact, the word muinntir is believed by scholars to be originally the old Irish form of *monasterium*, a monastery. Hence if Port na Muinntir is merely a comparatively modern name, it means Port of the People; but if it is old, as it probably is, it means Port of the Community or Port of the Monastery, and indicates that this landing-place was, sometimes at least, used by the monks instead of the better but more distant bays further south. The mediæval road from it to the Benedictine abbey was probably on the site of a more ancient road, which continued northward over the mill-stream where the present road crosses. Ernan was passing along here from "the port" to the monastery (where it then was) when he fell dead "in front of the kiln." See page 38.

CHAPTER XIII.

FROM REILIG ODHRAIN TO MARTYRS' BAY.

Reilig Odhrain (St. Oran's Burial-ground).—On St. Oran and the antiquity of the name of the cemetery see pages 36 and 37. It and Port na Muinntir are so situated as to suggest that they were at the two southern corners of the primitive monastery grounds, while the monks lived at the north end of the enclosure, beyond the mill-stream. As was natural for soil so sacred, Iona became a great place of sepulture, and the sites and names of some nine ancient burial-grounds survive, though, with the exception of Reilig Odhrain, they are small and little is known about them. There is a prediction which in later times may have increased the desire of Highlanders that their bones might rest there:—

Seachd bliadhna roimh 'n bhràth
Thig muir thar Eirinn ré aon tràth,
'S thar Ile ghuirm ghlais,
Ach snàmhaidh I Choluim chléirich.

Seven years before the Judgement
The sea shall sweep over Erin at one tide,
And over blue-green Isla,
But *I* of Colum the cleric shall swim.

The Reilig is an almost square plot of ground, surrounded by a stone wall, a little way south-west of the Cathedral (see Pl. 30). St. Oran's Chapel stands in it, near the north end, and the rest of the enclosure contains the surviving gravestones of the dead of thirteen hundred years. It is the only cemetery now in use.

St. Columba probably lay here among his monks for about two centuries before his remains were removed from

the earth for enshrinement. Doubtless this was the beginning of the fame and privileges of Reilig Odhrain as a sanctuary for the protection of fugitives, as was the case with Lindisfarne after the death and burial there of the holy Cuthbert.* Fordun the chronicler, writing in the fourteenth century, describes "the island of Hy Columkille, where are two monasteries, the one of monks and the other of nuns, and also a refuge." The *refugium* was undoubtedly the Reilig. Any unfortunate, fleeing from oppression or from the violence of an angry enemy, could he but gain the shore of the holy isle and St. Oran's inviolable precincts, was safe under the shield of the Church until his cause should be tried and justice done. The right of sanctuary belonged, indeed, to all consecrated churches and their graveyards, but it was more potent in proportion to the sanctity of the place, and Fordun specially names four sanctuaries in the Isles, of which this is one.

The same chronicler speaks of "the church of St. Oran in the island of Hy" as an ancient place of royal sepulture, and this is borne out by other historical records. We have seen in Chapter VI. that a Pictish and a Northumbrian king were brought to Iona for burial as early as Adamnan's time. But Aidan the Scot, though consecrated king by St. Columba in Iona, was buried in Kintyre, and the island does not seem to have been the burial-place of the Dalriadan rulers. Our earliest and surest records of the royal burials in Iona are found in two old chronicles,† which give the list of Scots kings without any mention of burial-place until they come to Kenneth MacAlpine, the first king of united Scotland, who reigned in the middle of the ninth century, and was buried, they say, "in the island of Iona, where also Fergus, Loarn, and Angus, the three sons of

* See Bede's *Vita Cuthberti*, c. 37 (Migne's *P.L.*, vol. 94). Fugitives sometimes fled to Columba as a sacred protection during his lifetime.

† Chronicle of the Scots and Picts, compiled about 1187, and Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, about 1251.

PLATE 30. REILIG ODHRAIN.

Page 124.

Erc, were buried." Thenceforward for two centuries these chronicles say of each king except four, that he was buried in Iona, and there is no reason to disbelieve it. As for the three sons of Erc, who founded the Dalriadan kingdom and died before Columba's time, the reference is perhaps to some translation of their bones to Iona in the seventh or eighth century, for the Irish annals have a record of a later translation of them from Iona to Ireland in 784, to be laid with their royal ancestors at Teltown.

The Early Kings of Scotland.

A.D. 844–860. Kenneth MacAlpine, buried in Iona.
860–863. Donald I., buried in Iona.
863–877. Constantine I., killed in Fife by Norsemen. "They found the king's body," says a later chronicler, Fordun, "and bore it with deep wailing to the island of Iona, where it was enshrined with great honours in his father's bosom."
877–878. Aedh, buried in Iona.
878–889. Girig, buried in Iona at death, after deposition.
889–900. Donald II., killed by Norsemen at Dunottar, buried in Iona.
900–942. (Constantine II., died a Culdee of St. Andrews, and was buried there.)
943–954. Malcolm I., buried in Iona.
954–963. Indulf, buried in Iona, "in the customary tomb of the kings" (Fordun).
963–967. Duff, buried in Iona.
967–971. (Colin, slain by the Britons.)
971–995. (Kenneth II., burial unrecorded.)
995–997. Constantine III., buried in Iona.
997–1005. (Kenneth III., burial unrecorded.)
1005–1034. Malcolm II., buried in Iona.
1034–1040. Duncan, killed by Macbeth, buried in Iona.
1040–1057. Macbeth, buried in Iona.
1057. Lulach the Fatuous, buried in Iona.

Then followed Duncan's sons, Malcolm Canmore (died 1093) and Donald (died 1097), who were not brought to the sacred island, though Donald's bones were afterwards translated thither. Dunfermline succeeded Iona as the royal burial-place.

The graves of the kings in Reilig Odhrain are unrecognizable; but Dean Monro saw in 1549 "three tombes of staine formit like little chapels," the northern one inscribed in Latin "The Tomb of the Kings of Norway," the middle one "The Tomb of the Kings of Scotland," and the southern one "The Tomb of the Kings of Ireland." Pennant says:—"Of these celebrated tombs we could discover nothing more than certain slight remains, that were built in a ridged form, and arched within: but the inscriptions were lost. These are called Iomaire nan Righ, or, The ridge of the kings." The tombs are supposed from this to have been long round-roofed stone vaults, like some very ancient tombs in Ireland.

Monro says he reckoned from ancient chronicles that forty-eight Scots kings were buried in Iona—a number that must be reduced approximately to the list above. He also reckoned eight kings of Norway and four of Ireland. Sacheverell says that his guide who showed him the burial-ground, pointing to a plain stone, said, "This was the monument of the great Teague, king of Ireland." Niall Frassach, King of Ireland, and Artgal, King of Connaught, died as monks in Iona in the eighth century (page 65). These may be of the number referred to by Monro. There seems to be no evidence for his kings of Norway, though two powerful sub-kings under Norway, Godred of Man (page 79) and Reginald of the Isles, were buried in Iona.

As Monro says, "This sanctuarey was wont to be the sepulture of the best men of all the iles, and als of our kings, as we have said: becaus it was the maist honorable and ancient place that was in Scotland in thair dayes, as we reid." After the early kings of Scotland, the Lords of the Isles, who also bore locally the proud title of king, were buried in Iona, as well as many other Island chieftains.

St. Oran's Chapel. Teampull Odhrain—(Plates 21 and 30).—A simple oblong little church, twenty-nine feet by fifteen. The door is at the west end, and has a round arch

and rich Norman carving. The chapel as a whole is possibly older than this Norman doorway, and the name undoubtedly is. Teampull was Irish for a stone church, as distinguished from a wooden one, when they began to use stone for church building more generally than at first. It is a Celtic Church word.

The roof of St. Oran's is gone. There are only two little slits of windows—one on either side near the east end. A mediæval altar tomb, surmounted by a triple arch, has been built in the thickness of the south wall. When Pennant saw it, it contained "a tombstone with a ship and several ornaments," probably the monument of one of the Macdonalds of the Isles.

Near the Reformation we find that a monk of the abbey exercises the office of chaplain of St. Oran's, doubtless to celebrate Mass for the dead and perform the other duties of a cemetery chaplain. In 1542 King James V. presented Sir John M'Mwylne to the chaplaincy, vacant by the death of Sir Donald M'Cristyn.

St. Oran's Well is described by Reeves as being "a little east of the Free Church manse." The building referred to is now the St. Columba Hotel, and the well does not exist, nor is its name known, though a spring of water in the position described is remembered. Reeves also records a tradition that a St. Brendan's Cross once stood by the well.

Cill Chainnich (Church of Kenneth) was a small ancient chapel, with a graveyard called Cladh Chainnich, west of Maclean's Cross, at the foot of the hill. Reeves says, "The foundations were removed some years ago, and a few tombstones are all that remain to mark the cemetery." Since then a rude and perhaps very ancient gravestone has been taken from this spot to be kept in the Cathedral.

On St. Kenneth see page 21, and his visit to St. Columba at Hinba and mission with him to King Brude. According to the oldest usage of the Celtic Church, such a name as Cill Chainnich would indicate a church or monastery built by

Kenneth himself, for churches were at first named after their founders, and not, as in somewhat later times, in honour of departed saints. But although St. Kenneth was a familiar visitor to Iona, it is more reasonable to suppose that the chapel was named according to the later custom, which became established before the end of the Celtic period than to regard him as its founder, for St. Columba was in possession of the island.

The Nunnery, like the Benedictine abbey, was founded by Reginald of the Isles. The ruins are grouped round a cloister smaller than that of the abbey, and the group originally extended further south, where the road now passes. Some basalt is used with the granite in the masonry. The view in Plate 31 is towards the north-west, across the square of the cloister to the Sisters' church, lying along the north side of the cloister and sixty feet in length. The west gable contains a large round-headed window. The east end had a vaulted roof, the ribs of which were supported by four columns, and the gable was pierced by a large double window. All this is in ruins. Three semicircular arches, well seen in the Plate, open into a north aisle, having at its east end a little chapel, with a stone staircase in the north wall to communicate with some apartment which was above. For the monuments see the next chapter.

The Nunnery was a priory, *i.e.*, the superior was only a prioress, not an abbess. Documents of the sixteenth century show that the house was dedicated to St. Mary. Some writers name St. Oran as the patron saint, but that seems to be a mistake, although possibly the whole establishment bore one name and the chapel in particular the other, as in the case of the abbey and the abbey church.

The Nunnery was the women's burial-place. The ancient monastic sanctuaries of Ireland had commonly a burial-place for women, and doubtless Iona had one before the Nunnery, but when the latter appeared it was naturally used for the purpose. Sacheverell describes the Nunnery chapel as "the

PLATE 31. THE NUNNERY FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

Page 128.

Burying place of all the Ladies in this part of Scotland, as Oran's Chappel is of the Men." At the end of the eighteenth century women were still buried at the Nunnery, "with few exceptions."

St. Ronan's Chapel is a small church about the size of St. Oran's, a little north of the Nunnery buildings. It was called Teampull Ronaig or Ronain; and the designation "teampull" and the saint's name both link it with the Celtic Church period, whatever the date of the present ruined building. See pages 42 and 64 for St. Ronan.

This was the parish church for the few lay people living in this ecclesiastical island in the Middle Ages. We first hear of a parish church and rector of Iona in a fourteenth-century document referred to on page 86; and this parish church is identified as St. Ronan's by later records, shortly before the Reformation.

Stràid nam Marbh (Street of the Dead).—This was the name of the funeral road to Reilig Odhrain from Martyrs' Bay, where bodies were landed for burial in Iona. The road slanted inland through the field above the bay, where traces of it have been observed, and turned to the right, between the Nunnery and Cnoc Mòr, through a stone archway which was remembered by the oldest of the last generation of islanders. The road passed Maclean's Cross on the west side, whereas the present road deviates round the east of the cross. Pennant describes the Street of the Dead as "a broad paved way, which is continued in a line from the nunnery to the cathedral: another branches from it to the Bay of Martyrs: and a third narrower than the others points toward the hills."

Port a' Chroisein (Bay of the Little Cross) is a bay, sandy at low tide, opposite the middle of the village. It gets its name from a former St. Adamnan's Cross, Crois Adhamhnain, which stood by it. Page 61.

Port Ronain (St. Ronan's Bay) is another memorial of the saint of Kingarth to whom the parish church was

dedicated. It is just north of the village boat-pier, where visitors to Iona are landed from the steamer.

Port nam Mairtir (Bay of Martyrs).—Plate 17. Martir is old Church Irish for the Latin word "martyr," and was in full use at the period of the first recorded slaughter of Iona monks by the Danes, in the year 806. Angus the Culdee, who wrote at about this time, has such expressions as "slúag mór martir," a great host of martyrs. It has been suggested on page 67 that this bay is named from the sixty-eight martyrs of 806, and that their blood stained its sands. The Irish called it "red martyrdom" to die for God, and "white martyrdom" to live and endure bravely for Him; and we can say of ancient Iona what St. Cyprian said of his suffering Church of Carthage—*floribus ejus nec lilia nec rosae desunt.*

This bay has another interest. Pennant speaks of "the spot called the Bay of Martyrs; the place where the bodies of those who were to be interred in this holy ground were received." An alternative name, *Port nam Marbh—i.e.*, Bay of the Dead—witnesses to this ancient custom, which has been observed also in recent times. The dead were laid on the low grassy mound called *Eala*, opposite the bay, before they were carried along the Street of the Dead. Eala is the Gaelic for a swan; but this being meaningless in this case, Dr. Reeves derives the name of the mound from calatrom, a bier—otherwise cilitrum, ciliotrom, cleathroin, in Irish, and cilitriom, cilidriom, in Scottish Gaelic.

A little way south of Martyrs' Bay and Eala is the site of an ancient burial-place, *Cladh nan Druineach.* There is now no wall, and the place is hardly distinguishable in the field where it is situated, though not many years ago a heap of skulls was accidentally unearthed. Pennant describes it, in 1772, as "an oblong enclosure, bounded by a stone dyke, called Clachnan Druinach, and supposed to have been the burial place of the Druids, for bones of various sizes are found there. I have no doubt (he proceeds) but that

Druidism was the original religion of this place; yet I suppose this to have been rather the common cemetery of the people of the town, which lies almost close to the Bay of Martyrs."

With regard to the meaning of the name, see what has been said on page 2. I am told by an authority on such questions that "druinech" is not derived, directly at least, from "druidh," a Druid or wise man, but from "druin" and "glice" (wise or clever), and means a "cunning workman" of any kind. Hence the idea suggests itself that this name means the Sculptors' Cemetery, and that they were Iona's famous mediæval stone carvers. It would be quite in accord with old Highland custom for a family to have exercised this craft in successive generations. There were such hereditary offices among the laity in Iona, for the monastery gate was kept by a family of hereditary doorkeepers or porters, called, says the old writer Martin, "Clan vic n'oster, from Ostiarii."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CARVED STONES. CONCLUSION.

THESE notes on the Iona carvings are chiefly historical, in accordance with the general purpose of the book. Such descriptions of the stones themselves as are given are not based on personal examination of them by the author. With the exception of Maclean's Cross, the carvings are collected in the Cathedral and its precincts, St. Oran's Chapel and Reilig Odhrain, and the Nunnery. Some have been moved from one to another of these places, and many others are not *in situ*. The greater number may be grouped in the following classes.

(1) A few unshaped boulders with crosses cut on them.

(2) Flat-lying grave slabs with crosses incised or in relief on the upper face. The "Irish cross," viz., a Latin cross with a circle on the arms, is a common form, as it is on the much more numerous gravestones of the same period at Clonmacnois in Ireland. One Clonmacnois cross-slab is described in Petrie and Stokes as "the first perfect example of the Irish cross—the Latin engrafted on the so-called Greek cross, or cross within the circle." The Irish stone referred to has an inscription which is thought to commemorate an abbot who died in 724, according to the annals. Some of the similar but uninscribed cross-slabs in Iona may be as old as this, but the few which bear inscriptions are considered from the style of lettering to be much later, near the end of the Celtic Church period in the island.

(3) High standing crosses like Irish ones of the early tenth century. One fine example remains entire. The very early memorial crosses, such as we read of the monks erecting in

St. Columba's time, were very probably made of wood, and they have not survived. There are some names like Na Croisean Mòra indicating where crosses stood.

(4) Mediæval work posterior to the Celtic Church period. This includes two high crosses—one of them still intact by the roadside—and some recumbent effigies, but chiefly flat grave-slabs. These slabs bear emblems, on a ground of foliage decoration, sometimes with figures of animals added. The emblems are such as a warrior's claymore, an island chief's galley, the Cross; and on women's tombstones in the Nunnery, shears, mirror, and comb. Some slabs have only decorative patterns, and some only a band or border of decoration. Similar sculpture is found in some other localities in the Isles and West Highlands, but nowhere so abundantly as in Iona.

IN THE CATHEDRAL.

ABBOT MACKINNON.—(Plate 22).—A recumbent figure on the north side of the sanctuary. The monument is a fine piece of rich Gothic carving, in a different style from the local work, as if by some special artist. As a priest, the abbot wears the chasuble or mass-vestment. The mitre on the head is a mark of special honour granted to the Benedictine abbots of Iona in a Papal letter of the year 1247. The abbots of some important monasteries were allowed to wear a mitre, like a bishop, although but simple priests, hence the term "mitred abbot." The figure held in the left hand a crosier or pastoral staff, the symbolical shepherd's crook carried by bishops and abbots, but this has been broken away. The inscription on the edge of the slab is recorded as HIC JACET JOHANNES MACFINGONE ABBAS DE Y QUI OBIIT ANNO DNI MILLESIMO QUINGENTISIMO . . . CUJUS ANIME PROPITIETUR ALTISSIMUS DEUS AMEN — Here lies John Macfingon, abbot of Y, who died in the year of the Lord one thousand, five hundred, [and . . .], on whose soul may the most high God have mercy. Amen.

The inscription shows that, as was often done, Mackinnon had it carved before his death, leaving a blank for the exact year to be filled in, which, however, was neglected. He styles himself merely "abbot," so that as late as 1500 he was not yet a bishop. On the events of his abbacy and episcopate see pages 90-93. An earlier abbot of the same family has also been mentioned. The surname is derived from the personal name Fingon or Finghin, and an "anchorite and bishop of Ia" of this name died in 966. The traditional progenitor of the Mackinnons, Macfingons, or Clan Fingon was a certain Fingon of the lineage of the ancient Dalriadan king, Loarn Mor. In the Middle Ages the Mackinnon Clan followed the house of Lorne, and then the Lord of the Isles when Mull, their home, was ceded to him in the middle of the fourteenth century. After the deprivation of the Lord of the Isles they attached themselves to the Macleans of Duart. See further on Mackinnon's Cross below.

Abbot Kennethi Mackenzie (Pl. 32).—A recumbent effigy on the south side of the sanctuary, resembling Mackinnon's opposite, but more defaced and without inscription. He was probably abbot not long before Mackinnon, from the similarity of their monuments. Martin has a mention of "Mak Ilikenich his Statue." The chief country of Clan Kenzie was Kintail, on the mainland coast opposite Skye. They were vassals of the Lord of the Isles until his fall in 1493, and afterwards rose to considerable power in the West Highlands.

Macleod of Macleod.—A hollowed matrix as if for a brass—the island tradition (mentioned by Sacheverell) says it was silver—in the pavement in the middle of the sanctuary. It is the outline of a burly knight in plate armour, not the ruder garb in which other island chiefs are represented.

Martin has "Mack Leod of Harries." The district of Harris is the southern part of the island of Lewis in the

PLATE 32. CATHEDRAL SEDILIA AND ABBOT MACKENZIE'S MONUMENT.

Page 134.

northern Hebrides. Macleod of Harris was also known as Macleod of Dunvegan, or of Glenelg, from his lands in Skye and on the mainland. The other branch of Clan Leod held Lewis proper, the northern part of the island. William Dubh Macleod of Harris, "a renowned and brave warrior," was killed in the sea-fight of Bloody Bay in 1480. This effigy is thought to belong to about that time, from its resemblance to others at Rodel in Harris. The next chief, Alastair Crottach, fought at Flodden Field. He died much later, after rebuilding the priory church at Rodel, and his tomb is there. A Macleod gravestone in Reilig Odhrain will be noticed later.

NEIL OF THE ROSS (Niall an Roiss).—An effigy in high relief on a stone slab, which has been removed from Reilig Odhrain to the Cathedral, is ascribed by local tradition to this chief of the Macleans of the Ross of Mull. He was grandson of the third chief of Duart, and flourished at the close of the fifteenth century. He was given the Ross of Mull —the peninsula off which Iona lies—as his estate, and became the progenitor of Sliochd a' chlaidheimh iaruinn, the Race of the Iron Sword, as the warlike Ross branch was called.

A tall figure with curly beard, wearing a pointed basinet on the head, a surcoat reaching to the knee, greaves, the feet in pointed "sollerets" resting on a hound. Sword in belt, spear in right hand, while a three-sided shield, with the device of a galley above a lion rampant, hangs by a strap round the neck. A small object, perhaps a horn, hangs on the right side.

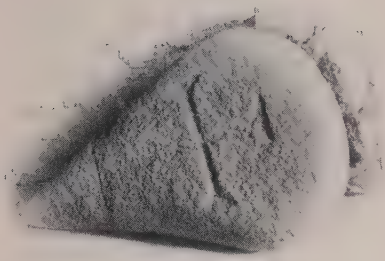
MAC IAN OF ARDNAMURCHAN.—A finely carved grave-

stone now in the Cathedral,* representing two warriors under a double canopy, one in plate armour and the other in long surcoat. Beneath is a galley, and there is rich ornamentation. An inscription in the border is recorded as HIC JACET JOHANNES MACCEAIN DOM . . . S DE ARD-NAMURCHAN ET MARIOTA MA . . EAIN SOROR EJUS SPONSA MACCOLINI MACDUFFIE DOMINI DE DUNEVIN IN COLONSE HANC LAPIDEM EMIT SUO FRATRI (Here lies John MacIan, Lord of Ardnamurchan: and Mariota MacIan his sister, the wife of Maccolin Macduffie Lord of Dunevin in Colonsay, bought this stone for her brother). Which of the two figures is MacIan, and who is the other, does not appear. The surcoat was specially characteristic of the West Coast; plate armour of the Lowlands, such as the other knight wears, was no doubt obtained at a greater price. Perhaps the figures commemorate the donor's *husband* and brother, though "Hic jacet" is only said of the latter. A panel on the slab resembles the design on the stone of the Four Priors, date 1500, in the Reilig. This indication of the period of the MacIan stone, and its inscription, suit Sir John MacIan of Ardnamurchan, who supported the King's cause in the troubles in the Isles from 1493 onwards. James IV. was twice at his castle of Mingary, and granted him lands, but he fell by the hand of his foes in 1518. The MacIans were an offshoot of the Macdonalds.

A BOULDER carved with an artistic Irish cross, found near Cladh an Diseart, and popularly called St. Columba's Pillow. Its length is 20 inches. Plate 33.

A BOULDER tapering towards one end, incised with a linear Latin cross with the ends crossed like a T. The figure is much simpler and more ancient-looking than the

* Martin says "There is a heap of Stones without the Church, under which Mackean of Ardminurchin lies buried."



FROM CILL CHAINNICH.

FROM NEAR CLADH AN DISEART.

PLATE 33. CARVED BOULDERS. *Page* 136.

preceding. It comes from Cill Chainnich. Plate 33. Both of these stones are probably gravestones.

MACKINNON'S CROSS (Plate 23).—The broken shaft of a high standing cross, formerly preserved in St. Oran's Chapel, but now in the Cathedral. The site where it originally stood is unknown. On the front, a galley of twenty oars, with mast and flagstaff, is carved at the foot; above this a panel contains the inscription HEC EST CRUX LACCLANNI MEIC FINGONE ET EJUS FILII JOHANNIS ABBATIS DE HY FACTA ANNO DOMINI MCCCC°LXXX°IX°. (This is the cross of Lachlan MacFingon, and his son John, abbot of Hy, made in the year of the Lord 1489.) The reverse side of the cross is carved with foliage ornament springing from a griffin's tail. Abbot Mackinnon has been already mentioned. His father Lachlan, whose name is on the cross, was the chief of the clan. He was known as Lachlan the Barterer (Lachunn na h-Iomlaid), because he exchanged the land of Gribune, on the west coast of Mull above Iona, for the Mishnish district in the north.

Among other pieces of carving collected in the Cathedral is a cross shaft with a dragon and interlaced ornament on one side, and on the other a defaced representation of a ship with six or seven men standing in it, and a great dragon monster above. The style of carving has been described by Mr W. G. Collingwood (see the Bibliography) as the "hacked" work of the Viking-age crosses in the Isle of Man, extremely unlike the native sculpture of Iona. It will be remembered that King Godred of Man was buried in Iona.

IN THE CATHEDRAL PRECINCTS.

CELTIC GRAVESTONES.—In a pavement in front of the oratory called St. Columba's Tomb, four flat-lying slabs with incised Irish crosses can be distinguished. The two towards the north have very indistinct inscriptions, which have been conjecturally read as follows. On the eastern one, OR DON GILIAN, Pray for Gilian; and on the other a double epitaph,

OROIT AR ANMIN FLAIND and OR AR ANMIN CAIND—Pray for the soul of Fland, Pray for the soul of Cand. These are old Irish names, the language is Gaelic, the lettering is described as "Hiberno-Saxon late minuscules" (Allen and Anderson), the time perhaps the twelfth century, with the close of which the Celtic tenure of Iona ended. Many of the stones at Clonmacnois have the same kind of inscriptions, and always in the vernacular Gaelic, not in Latin, but old vernacular inscriptions are very rare in Scotland.

ST. JOHN'S CROSS (Crois Eòin).—Plates 18 and 34.—A broken cross-shaft about six feet high, rising from a box-like pedestal of slabs of stone, just west of "St. Columba's Tomb" and the graves mentioned above. The flat shaft is carved with bosses and serpents, scrolls and interlacing knots, in a manner described by Mr Anderson as "so elaborate that no written description can convey any idea of what the ornament is like." The writer adds that it "must have been one of the most beautiful specimens of Celtic art." The sculpture is now much defaced. Zoömorphic designs of serpents and other animals are characteristic of old Irish and Scottish art, and the "escaping spiral" and "trumpet" scroll ornament were inherited from the pre-Christian Celts of the British Isles. Christian Celtic decoration reached its height "in the Irish and Hiberno-Saxon illuminated MSS. of the eighth century" and "was afterwards applied to sculptured stone-work" (Allen, *Celtic Art*). Reasons for assigning the Celtic high crosses of Iona to the beginning of the tenth century are stated on page 73. It is, however, St. Martin's Cross with its figure-groups which is specially like the Irish ones of that period, and St. John's and St. Matthew's may be a little older.

ST. MATTHEW'S CROSS.—The remnant of a sandstone cross-shaft on a red granite base, in front of the Cathedral. The shaft is five feet high, and has the Temptation of Adam and Eve represented on one side, in the same conventional

PLATE 34. GRAVESTONES AND ST. JOHN'S CROSS. *Page* 138.

form as on a cross at Kells, in Ireland. At the base of the shaft, a diagonal pattern with serpents' heads in it; on the other side interlaced work. Graham, who calls this St. John's Cross, says the head and arms are buried in the earth beside it.

ST. MARTIN'S CROSS (Crois Mhartuinn).—Plate 35 and Frontispiece.—This is pre-eminently the Great Cross of Iona—of massive red granite grey with age, rising sixteen feet and eight inches from the ground. On the front or west side the central subject is the Blessed Virgin Mary and her Child, surrounded by four angels. Beasts are carved on the arms of the cross; on the shaft, Daniel in the lions' den, in a conventional design known to antiquaries; groups of human figures, one with a harp; below, bosses and serpents. The back of the cross has beasts carved on the top, the rest bosses and serpents. The cross is called St. Martin's from its traditional Gaelic name. St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, was a friend of the British St. Ninian, and died about the time St. Patrick was carried captive to Ireland. He was highly venerated in the Irish and Scottish Churches. We learn from Adamnan that his name was in the prayers of the liturgy used in Iona by St. Columba.

IN ST. ORAN'S CHAPEL.

No. 1 on north side—a fragment.

2. A flat-lying sandstone slab, four feet six inches long. Within a margin, a cross of two parallel bands, interlaced at the intersection of the cross, and forming semicircular endings to its arms. At Clonmacnois there are a number of variations of this design, dating from the beginning of the ninth century onward, on the evidence of their inscriptions.

A CELTIC CROSS-SLAB.

3. A mediæval grave-slab, inscribed at the top HIC JACET CORPUS . . . FILII DOMINI ANGUSII MAC DOMNILI DE ILA (Here lies the body of ——, the son of Lord Angus Macdonald of Isla). Below is a galley with flag at prow and design of foliage and nondescript animals. There were two Lord Angus Macdonalds of Isla. Angus Mor, grandson of the founder of the Benedictines in Iona, died in 1294. His son, Angus Oig (page 85) died in 1326. The gravestone seems to be that of an unknown son of one or the other of these. The inscription reads as if the person buried was not himself Lord of Isla. This is against the supposition that the obliterated name was Angusii, and the person Angus Oig, son of Angus Mor. The space, moreover, is too short for Angusii, as Drummond points out; but his suggestion of Joänis—viz., Good John of Isla, Angus Oig's son—is open to the same objection that the inscription is not for a Lord of Isla, but for the son of one.

4. PRIOR MACGILLRESCOL.—A grave-slab with effigy of one of the Benedictine priors of the monastery in his sacerdotal vestments, showing an embroidered amice round the neck, the chasuble, the maniple on the wrist, and an embroidered "apparel" at the bottom of the long alb. The figure stands in an ornamental niche; and at the top of the stone is a chalice guarded by a terrible griffin, and the inscription HIC JACET FRATER CRISTI . . . MAC GILLRESCOL QUONDAM PRIOR DE Y CUJUS ANIME PROPITIETUR DEUS (Here lies Brother Christi[an?] Macgillrescol, former prior of Y, on whose soul may God have mercy). When Graham wrote, in 1850, this stone was "lying in the burying-ground of Kilviceon in Mull," having been taken from Iona for a grave there.

5. PÀL AN SPORAIN.—A slab with ornamental border, and a row of round ornaments down the middle. Graham wrote:—"In the north-east corner of St. Oran's Chapel is the tomb of Pol an Sporain, *i.e.*, Paul of the Bag. He

PLATE 35. ST. MARTIN'S CROSS: WEST FACE. *Page* 140.

was the son of an Earl of Argyll and High Treasurer of Scotland. He is said to be the only Campbell interred in this island." The round objects carved on the slab "are supposed to represent silver coin then in circulation." Martin speaks of "the tomb of Paul Sporran," not as in the chapel, but near the graves of the Macleans outside. The stone must have been moved into the chapel.

6. MACLEAN OF GRULINE (Plate 36).—An ornamented slab. A sword and attached belt; two inscription panels beside the hilt; at the head of the slab is a square panel with ornamental cruciform design, as on the stone of the Four Priors (Ridge of the Chiefs, 14). Hence it probably belongs to about 1500. Tradition assigns it to a Maclean of Gruline, a place at the head of Loch nan Ceall in Mull, where there was a branch of the Lochbuie clan.

7. Ornamented slab.

8. MACQUARRIE OF ULVA (local tradition). A late fifteenth or early sixteenth century effigy, carved in high relief. A warrior in basinet, mail tippet, quilted surcoat, greaves, and pointed sollerets on the feet; a spear in the gauntleted hand, and sword in belt. The shield is emblazoned with a galley above two lion-like beasts. Hounds and a deer and other animals decorate the slab.

The Macquarries or Clan Guarie were a small tribe who held the island of Ulva and adjacent lands in Mull, to the north of Iona. They and the Mackinnons claimed descent from the brothers Fingon and Guarie, of the lineage of Loarn Mor, the son of Erc. The chief John Macquarrie died in 1493. His son Dunslaff succeeded, and after the break-up of the Kingdom of the

Isles in 1493, he figures as a follower of Maclean of Duart in the troublous events of the period. He is last named in 1517, and in 1553 Ulva passed to the Duart chief.

9–12 are ornamented slabs, rather defaced.

At the east end of the chapel is placed a slab divided into two longitudinal panels, each of which has contained two long incised crosses of the Celtic type. Most of the quarter containing one of the crosses is broken away.

On the south side of the chapel are various fragments of what has been a Celtic high cross of great size, seven feet across the arms, carved out of slate.

Also the "Cross of Oran," or "Stone of Oran," as it is popularly called, looking like the lower part, or perhaps the whole, of the shaft of a standing cross, now remounted on a rough pedestal. It is probably at least three centuries posterior to St. Oran's time.

IN REILIG ODHRAIN.

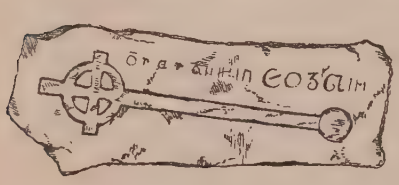
Most of the older gravestones are arranged in two parallel rows near the middle of the cemetery. The row on the west is known as the Ridge of the Kings, and the other as the Ridge of the Chiefs. The position of some of the stones has been changed.

RIDGE OF THE KINGS.

From South to North.

1. The first in the row is a plain stone.

2. Slab with Irish cross, and the inscription OR AR ANMIN EOGAIN, Pray for the soul of Ewan. See the accompanying cut. This stone is like those in front of "St. Columba's Tomb."



Another stone of the same kind used to lie near this, and later at the north end of the Ridge of the Chiefs, but

MACLEAN OF GRULINE.

THE PRIEST AT THE ALTAR.

CROSS, SWORD, AND CASKET.

PLATE 36. GRAVESTONES IN ST. ORAN'S CHAPEL AND THE REILIG. *Page* 142.

is now at Inverary Castle. It is inscribed with an epitaph preceded by a small cross, thus: + OR DO MAEL FATARIC (Pray for Maelpatrick), and is quite possibly the gravestone of the good Irish bishop, Maelpatrick O'Banain, who died in Iona in 1174.

3. BISHOP AODH CAMA-CHASACH.—A bishop or abbot, rudely delineated in alb, dalmatic, chasuble, and mitre, with pastoral staff. He stands under a canopy, with his right hand raised in benediction. Graham says—"It bears no inscription, but tradition gives it the name of Easpuig Aoidh Camo-chasach, Bishop Hugh of the Crooked Legs."

4–7. Ornamented slabs.

8. Ornamented slab, with figures at the bottom which some have described as resembling a Celtic ecclesiastical bell and two nails, but the foliage pattern shows it is not of Celtic date. The objects represented may be the pillar and nails emblematic of the Passion.

9. A rudely carved figure of a bishop or abbot in the attitude of number 3. Below the figure are two small hooded monks, greeting one another with a clasp of the hand.

10. A panel for inscription near the top of the slab, with a chalice (probably the sign of a priest's grave) and a smaller panel, or book, just below.

11. A great sword, while at the top of the slab a priest is celebrating Mass—"lifting up holy hands"—at an altar covered with a cloth and having on it a chalice and a cross with circle on the arms. A deacon or server assists the priest. The stone suggests a warrior who has exchanged the sword for the cowl. Plate 36.

12. REGINALD, LORD OF THE ISLES? (Plate 36).—The tapering form of the slab is said to be a mark of early date. A great sword is depicted, and beside it apparently the sheath, seen edgewise. On the left of the hilt is a small Latin cross of interlaced work, and at the foot of the stone a casket or strong-box, which is understood to be an emblem of the builder of a church. This is probably the gravestone

of the founder of the Benedictine abbey and nunnery, who is said by the historian of his clan to have received a cross from Jerusalem, and to have been buried in Reilig Odhrain on his death in 1207. See page 84.

13. A foliated cross in a square panel at the top, and a small sword on the right side of the slab.

14. Ornamented slab.

15. Circular design in centre.

16. Defaced slab.

17. Foliage scrollwork and sword.

18. Foliage scrollwork.

19. A defaced plain stone.

20. Defaced fragment showing part of a cross.

21. Ornamented stone with floriated cross.

22. Grave of a supposed KING OF FRANCE.—A rough oblong block of red granite, with an Irish cross cut on it, lying outside the rail enclosing the preceding stones. Graham describes the stone, and adds, "According to tradition a French king is interred here after having abdicated the French throne. His name, however, is not handed down." Pennant says, "About seventy feet south of the chapel lies a nameless king of France."

It is not likely that any early French king either died in Iona or was taken thither for burial, although one was sent to Ireland and shut up in Slane Monastery for a time in the seventh century, and there was occasional communication between Iona and Gaul—witness Columba and the sailors at Kintyre, and Adamnan and his guest, Bishop Arculf.

RIDGE OF THE CHIEFS.

From South to North.

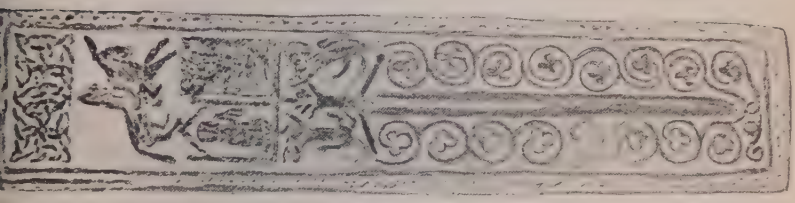
1. The first slab has a sword carved on it.

2. Cross; galley and sword on right side of the stone.

3. Ornamented.

4. The slab (see Plate 37) has at the top the inscription

MACLEOD.



THE RIDER.

AILEAN NAN SOP.

PLATE 37. GRAVESTONES IN REILIG ODHRAIN. *Page* 144.

HIC JACET . . . McLEOID (Here lies . . . Macleod) and the figure of a galley. In the middle of the ornamented surface of the slab is a small figure of the chief, in helmet and the usual long surcoat, armed with spear, sword, and small three-sided shield. Drummond says:—"It has always been asserted that he is dressed in the *philabeg*, but, on examining it closely, I found the dress the same as that in which the chiefs are usually represented."

The ornamentation is like Eoghan a' Chinn Bhig (No. 18 below). If this indicates a contemporary of his, and assuming that he is a chief of the clan, the time suits John Macleod of Lewis, who died about 1532, after an uneventful career. It is not Macleod of Harris of the same time, for his grave is at Rodel. Torquil, the father of John of Lewis, had fallen at the beginning of the century, in the storming of his castle of Stornoway by the King's forces.

5. "THE RIDER" (Plate 37), a mounted knight with spear at charge, at the top of the slab, with a kneeling figure and inscription panel below, and a sword on the lower half of the stone. The general form of the slab and the fashion of the sword are said to indicate an early date, and hence the Rider—probably a Maclean—is thought to belong to the fourteenth century.

Maclean is Mac Gilean, from the traditional ancestor, Gilean na Tuaighe (Gilean of the Battle-axe), a Mull hero of the early thirteenth century. The second chief, Maeliosa, is said to have fought against the Norse at Largs, in 1263, and the third, Malcolm, against the English at Bannockburn, in 1314, in the Highland brigade of the Lord of the Isles. This brings us into the century to which this gravestone is supposed to belong. Ian Dubh Maclean held Mull in the time of Robert II., in whose reign he died. On his sons Lachlan and Hector, see page 86. With these brothers, the clan divides into two. The body of Red Hector of the Battles, Lachlan's son, and second chief of

Duart, was brought to Iona for burial, from Harlaw field, in 1411. See page 87.

6. An ornamented slab.

7. Ornamented ; animals at top.

8. AILEAN NAN SOP (Allan of the Straw) (Plate 37).—A richly ornamented stone, with a galley near the top, assigned by local tradition to Ailean nan Sop, who was so called from the combustibles with which he set fire to houses in his raids. He was Allan Maclean, a younger son of Lachlan Cattanach of Duart. His brother, Hector Mor, succeeded to the chieftainship about 1527 ; and Allan, for lack of an inheritance, took to the sea as a pirate. He finally seized Lehire or Lether, since called Torloisk, on that part of the Mull coast which is hidden from Iona by the islands of Gometra and Ulva. There he settled down, and became an important leader in the various doings in the Isles till his death about 1551.

9. Slab with foliage ornament, square panel at top.

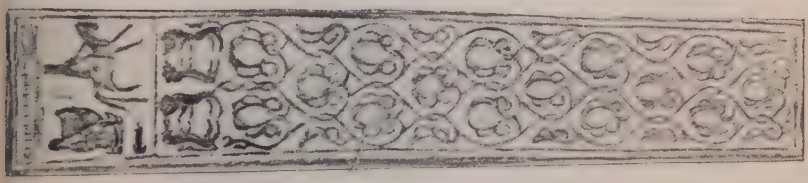
10. Slab with foliated cross, a short sword on the right.

11. Obliterated design.

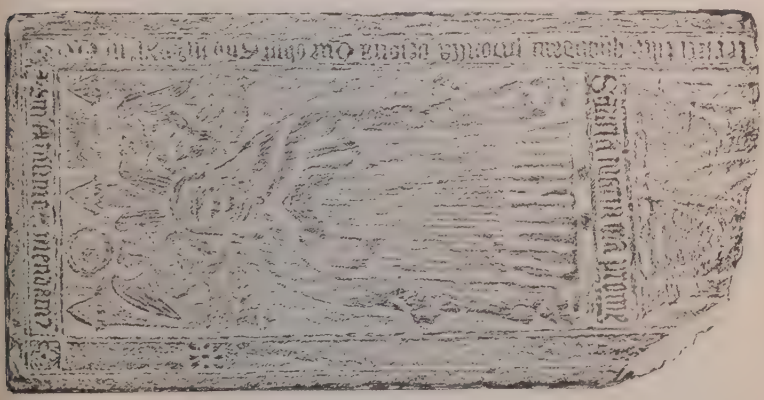
12. Square panel at top, sword down the centre of the slab.

13. MACLEAN OF DUART (local tradition).—An effigy, in high relief, of a chief with a square-ended beard, wearing the long surcoat of the western Highlands, a pointed or ridged basinet, and greaves, the feet on a hound. The sword is in the belt, spear in right hand, and on the left arm a three-cornered shield with the device of a dragon above a tower. The period is the late fifteenth o

THE FOUR PRIORS.



EOGHAN A' CHINN BHIG.



PRIORESS ANNA.

PLATE 38. GRAVESTONES IN THE REILIG AND NUNNERY. *Page* 146.

early sixteenth century. The chiefs of the time were Hector Odhar (pages 89 *seq.*); his son Lachlan, who fell at Flodden (pages 90-93); and Lachlan Cattanach (page 93). The second of these seems to have had his name suppressed and his father brought down to Flodden by the old genealogists, as Mr J. P. Maclean shows in his book. His succession to the chieftainship in 1496 is shown in Innes's *Origines Parochiales*. His body might have been brought from Flodden to Iona, as his ancestor's was from Harlaw. Lachlan Cattanach, who came next, was killed in Edinburgh, about 1527, by the brother of his early wife, Elizabeth Campbell, whom he had tried to drown on the Lady's Rock, off Duart Castle.

Entering the Sound of Mull from the east on the way to Iona, one passes the massive ruins of Duart Castle on the left, and soon afterwards Ardtornish on the right, the ancient stronghold of the Lords of the Isles.

14. THE FOUR PRIORS (Plate 38).—A beautiful but much defaced slab in four ornamental square panels, with a dog chasing a hare in a narrow space at the top, suggesting the favourite pastime of Chaucer's monk. In the border is inscribed: HIC JACENT QUATUOR PRIORES DE Y EX UNA NATIONE V JOHANNES HUGONIUS PATRICIUS IN DECRETIS OLIM BACALARIUS ET ALTER HUGONIUS QUI OBIIT ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO QUINGENTISIMO (Here lie four Priors of Y, of one nation, namely—John, Hugh, Patrick (formerly Bachelor of Decrees), and another Hugh, who died in the year of the Lord 15—). A blank after the date is thought to show that the exact year of the death of the last of the four is not filled in. Patrick's degree of Bachelor of Decrees is a distinction possessed by some other clergymen named in documents of the time.

15. MACLEAN OF LOCHBUIE (local tradition).—An effigy of a chief, seemingly in the act of buckling on his sword, wearing pointed basinet, mail tippet, and quilted surcoat, of the period about 1500, before or after.

Hector, fourth chief of Lochbuie, died before 1493, and was succeeded by his son John Oig, who became a great chief. His long life came to an end in an affray with the Duart clan in Mull about 1538. Another gravestone, number 18 below, is attributed to his son Ewan, who was killed with him.

Loch Buidhe is a sea-loch running into the south coast of Mull and overhung by fine hills. At the head of the loch stands the crumbling tower of Moy Castle, the old fortress of the Lochbuie chieftains, who bore as a second title the name of Baron of Moy. The modern house and the little Church of St. Kilda are close by. Lochbuie hall is hung with swords and targets borne by clansmen in the Stewart cause, in which the Maclaines (as the Lochbuie family now spell their name) suffered not a little. A regiment of Macleans was cut to pieces, with the rest of Prince Charlie's Highland army, at Culloden, and an instance has already been given of how the survivors were hunted down even to Iona.

16. MACLEAN OF COLL (traditional).—An effigy assigned by antiquaries to the late fifteenth century. The figure is clad like the preceding, and grasps his sword and hilt as if about to draw. A little angel appears above either shoulder; there is a griffin, with other ornamentation on the slab; and the feet rest on a dog.

The hills of the island of Coll, north-east of Tiree, can be seen from Iona. The first Maclean chief of the island was John, a son of the third chief of Duart and grandson of Red Hector of the Battles. He was known as John Garbh from his gigantic

stature and great strength, and is said to have forced Alexander, Lord of the Isles, to give him Coll and other lands, for fear of his life. His son John Abrach was killed in maintaining possession of Lochiel in Lochaber, which was part of the grant. A third John, son of the preceding, was chief in 1493. Dr Johnson and Boswell were entertained in Coll by the chief of their day, and speak affectionately of his son, "young Coll," who was drowned soon after their visit.

17. A slab with a galley on it, and a stag hunted by dogs.

18. EOGHAN A' CHINN BHIG (Ewan of the Little Head). (Plate 38.)—At the top of the slab is the peaceful scene of an unarmed horseman pacing along, with a hound at his horse's heels and a harper in the background. There has been an inscription above. The foliage ornament below is developed from the tails of two pairs of nondescript beasts.

The island tradition ascribes this stone to a famous Ewan Maclean, a son of John of Lochbuie, who fell, with his father and brother, in a savage clan fight in Mull, about 1538. "It was a common belief in the olden time that this personage always appeared when a member of his family was about to die. A little over fifty years ago a native of the island declared that he saw Ioin pass him at MacLean's Cross on his black horse, with his little head under his arm." (Macmillan).

19. DR. JOHN BETON.—A gravestone with a coat of arms in the upper part. In the margin of the slab is inscribed HIC JACET JOHANNES BETONUS MACLENORUM FAMILIAE MEDICUS QUI MORTUUS EST 19 NOVEMBRIS 1657 AET 63. DONALDUS BETONUS FECIT 1674 (Here lies John Beton, physician to the Maclean family, who died on the 19th of November, 1657, aged 63. Donald Beton made this, 1674). And below the coat of arms are three lines of verse: ECCE CADIT JACULO VICTRICIS MORTIS INIQUAE

—QUI TOTIES ALIOS SOLVERAT IPSE MALIS—SOLI DEO GLORIA (Lo, he falleth by the dart of victorious unrighteous death—who himself so oft loosed others from their ills—to God alone be glory).

Skene, in his introduction to the Book of the Dean of Lismore, says—"The Betons, or, as their name was in Gaelic, Macbheatha, who were hereditary physicians in Isla and Mull, and who were also sennachies of the MacLeans, were of Irish descent, being O'Neills." A writer on the Clan MacLean says that at one time the Betons possessed Pennycross, on Carsaig Bay in the south of Mull, as a reward from Maclean of Duart. The chief was wounded by a poisoned arrow, and his life was despaired of, but he was healed by the physician's skill.

There is a fragment of a cross at the end of the Ridge of the Chiefs, outside the rail enclosing their graves.

Clach Bràth, between the end of the Ridge and the Chapel, is "a broad flat stone, having a slit in the upper and a circular cavity in the lower half of the face." On this once rested some round stones called Clachan Bràth, which visitors used to turn round sunwise, "for it is thought," says Pennant, "that the *brath*, or end of the world will not arrive till the stone on which they stand is worn through."

Near the preceding, on the east, is a much worn slab called The Pilgrim by Graham, from the figure, in a panel at the top, of a man walking with long staff and wallet. This stone was formerly on the Ridge of the Kings.

Beside the last is another old stone, "with a short sword on the right side."

Among the modern gravestones of Reilig Odhrain is a monument erected by the United States to sixteen persons drowned in the wreck of the American ship "Guy Mannering" on the west coast of the island, on the last day of 1865.

PLATE 39. MACLEAN'S CROSS: WEST FACE. *Page* 150.

MACLEAN'S CROSS (Plates 20 and 39).

A mediæval wayside cross, by the road from the village to Reilig Odhrain. It is carved from a thin slab of schist, and rises to the height of a little over ten feet from its pedestal of stones. The head is a circular disc, with cross-arms projecting slightly from its circumference. On the west face, the central figure is Our Lord crucified, in a long robe; a fleur-de-lys is on the top arm and a chalice on one side arm of the cross-head. Both sides of the cross are decorated with interlaced and foliage ornament. The east face of the disc has only an ornamental pattern; just below it are two beasts; and at the foot of the shaft is a mounted knight, with helm and lance, drawn plainly in Stuart's plate, but now hardly distinguishable. The foliage pattern on the cross is like that on some of the slabs in Reilig Odhrain, and it is thought to have been carved in the fifteenth century, perhaps about the same time as Mackinnon's Cross, 1489. It might be in honour of the Maclean chief of the time, as Mackinnon's is for the chief of that smaller clan and his son the abbot. Iona is in the Maclean country, which consisted chiefly of Mull and its surroundings.

IN THE NUNNERY.

PRIORESS ANNA (Plate 38).—The upper part of a slab in low relief representing an Austin canoness. These nuns, the female branch of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine, appear in the later Middle Ages as the occupants of Iona Nunnery, which was founded for Benedictine Sisters. The canonesses wore a white robe, and a linen rochet or close fitting surplice, which appears under the cloak in the figure of the Prioress. The head is on a pillow smoothed down by little angels; a round mirror and a comb are carved above;

a little dog is represented on each side the figure, half way down, probably emblematic of constancy. The other half of the slab has been mostly broken away since Pennant described and drew its subject—"the form of the Virgin Mary, with head crowned and mitred, the child in her arms; and, to denote her Queen of Heaven, a sun and moon appear above." His drawing confirms this description. There is no doubt about the mitre. Now only the lower part of the figure is left, with the inscription SANCTA MARIA ORA PRO ME. Pennant gives the full inscription in the border of the slab, the beginning of which is now lost—[HIC JACET DOMINA ANNA DONALDI] TERLETI FILIA QUONDAM PRIORISSA DE IONA QUAE OBIIT ANO MDºXLºIII EJUS ANIMAM ALTISSIMO COMMENDAMUS (Here lies Lady Anna, daughter of Donald Tearlach, sometime Prioress of Iona, who died in the year 1543. Her soul we commend to the most High). A broken high cross at Soroby, in Tiree, has been described and figured, on which the skeleton Death leads by the hand a nun habited like Prioress Anna, with the inscription underneath: HEC EST CRUX MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI DEI. SOROR ANNA ABBATISSA DE Y (This is the cross of Michael the archangel of God. Sister Anna, Abbess of Y). No doubt this cross once stood in Iona. The superiors of the Nunnery do not appear to have been entitled to the name of abbess, but this seems to be the same lady as Prioress Anna.

The following gravestones in the Nunnery or its precincts seem specially worthy of mention, in addition to the preceding.

A slab of mica schist, carved with "a cross of the whole length of the stone, decorated with symmetrically arranged patterns of interlaced work, filling the shaft, arms, and summit, which are also connected by a circle." These are characteristic of the Celtic period.

The two stones shown in the accompanying figures, one of them carved with lotus-leaf ornament, and the other

with a long slender ornamental cross, having above its arms a foliage ornament and an animal.

Another with slender cross, and at the foot two pairs of shears, point to point. A slab with panels at top and

bottom, and a pair of shears at the foot. One with illegible inscription on a panel at the top, a cross of foliage pattern below, and a mirror and comb. A defaced slab with cross and interlaced pattern.

* * * * * *

It has naturally been the lot of the Middle Ages to leave more of these stone monuments in Iona than earlier times. They witness to some of the chequered history of the island, though they hardly touch its most remote and glorious past. It is rather the fair sea-beauty and imaginative charm of the place that link us with the ancient simple

days of material poverty and spiritual fruitfulness. A Gaelic prediction makes St. Columba speak from the vanished past in words prophetic of what now is and what is yet to be :—

An I mo chridhe, I mo ghràidh,
  An àit' guth manaich bidh geum bà ;
Ach mu'n tig an saoghal gu crìch,
  Bithidh I mar a bha.

In *I* of my heart, *I* of my love,
  Instead of monk's voice shall be lowing of cows ;
But ere the world shall come to an end,
  I shall be as it was.

APPENDIX I.

UCHD AILIUN: AN OLD IRISH POEM.

Dr. Skene, writing of Càrn Cùl ri Eirinn in Iona (*C.S.*, II., p. 91), says that "among the several poems attributed to Columba, there is one which so remarkably describes the scene from this spot and the emotions it was calculated to excite in one of his temperament, that it is hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that it contains the genuine expression of his feelings . . . The original of this interesting poem is in one of the Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. It was transcribed and translated for the late Dr. Todd by the late Professor O'Curry."

Colum-cille fecit.

Delightful would it be to me to be in Uchd Ailiun
On the pinnacle of a rock,
That I might often see
The face of the ocean;
That I might see its heaving waves
Over the wide ocean,
When they chant music to their Father
Upon the world's course;
That I might see its level sparkling strand,
It would be no cause of sorrow;
That I might hear the song of the wonderful birds,
Source of happiness;
That I might hear the thunder of the crowding waves
Upon the rocks;
That I might hear the roar by the side of the church
Of the surrounding sea;
That I might see its noble flocks
Over the watery ocean;
That I might see the sea monsters,
The greatest of all wonders;
That I might see its ebb and flood
In their career;
That my mystical name might be, I say,
Cul ri Erin;

That contrition might come upon my heart
Upon looking at her;
That I might bewail my evils all,
Though it were difficult to compute them;
That I might bless the Lord
Who conserves all,
Heaven with its countless bright orders,
Land, strand, and flood;
That I might search the books all,
That would be good for any soul;
At times kneeling to beloved heaven;
At times at psalm-singing;
At times contemplating the King of Heaven,
Holy the chief;
At times at work without compulsion;
This would be delightful.
At times plucking duilise from the rocks;
At times at fishing;
At times giving food to the poor;
At times in a carcair.
The best advice in the presence of God
To me has been vouchsafed.
The King, whose servant I am, will not let
Anything deceive me.

APPENDIX II.

ALTUS PROSATOR: ST. COLUMBA'S HYMN.

This devout composition is written in the Latin of Columba's time, it has always been believed to be by his own hand, and the tradition is upheld in the learned edition of the *Irish Liber Hymnorum* by Dr. Bernard and Dr. Atkinson, published by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

A legend about four centuries later than Columba is attached to the hymn. According to this, he composed the *Altus*—in Iona or Derry—to beg forgiveness for the battle of Cooldrevny, and two Irish battles which occurred after he had settled in Iona, but which are said to have been gained because of him. The scribe then adds an alternative explanation. *Ut alii dicunt*, Columkill made the short hymn *Adjutor laborantium* while carrying a bag of oats from the stone in the refectory in Iona to the mill, and then went on to compose the *Altus* during the grinding of the oats, which were the only

food they had to offer to messengers who came from Pope Gregory, bearing gifts of a cross and a book of the hymns for the week. When the messengers left, Columba gave them the *Altus* to present to the Pope. The story is improbable, for one reason, because at the date of Gregory's accession Columba was an old man near to his death. The stone of the refectory seems, however, to be an authentic detail of the ancient monastery. See page 103.

The hymn is alphabetical, the verses beginning with the letters in order, like the sections of Psalm 119 in Hebrew. After praising God for His works in creation—with descriptions that may well have been inspired by the face of nature round about Iona—the theme passes to "the day of the Lord" with much of the terrible grandeur of the *Dies irae*.

The Rev. Anthony Mitchell, Canon of Edinburgh, very kindly not only allows me to print his metrical rendering of the hymn, but has revised it for the occasion. I have inserted a few Bible references where the allusion to Scripture is perhaps less obvious than elsewhere. Canon Mitchell's translation appeared originally in *The Celtic Church in Scotland*, an interesting book by the Right Rev. John Dowden, Bishop of Edinburgh.

ANCIENT of days, enthroned on high!
The Father unbegotten He,
Whom space containeth not, nor time;
Who was, and is, and aye shall be:
And one-born Son, and Holy Ghost,
Who co-eternal glory share;
One only God, of Persons Three,
We praise, acknowledge, and declare.

BEINGS celestial first He made;
Angels and archangels of light,
In Principalities and Thrones,
And mystic rank of Power and Might:
That Love and Mystery Divine
Not aimlessly alone might dwell,
But vessels have, wherein to pour
Full wealth of gifts ineffable.

CAST from the highest heights of heaven,
Far from the Angels' shining state,
Fadeth from glory Lucifer,
Falling in scorn infatuate.
Angels apostate share his fall,
Steeled with his hate, and fired with pride,
Banished from their fellows bright,
Who in the heavenly seats abide.

DIREFUL and foul, the Dragon great,
Whose deadly rage was known of old,
The slippery serpent, wilier
Than living thing that earth doth hold:
From the bright realm of heaven he could
A third part of the stars entice,
In Hell's abyss to quench their light,
In headlong fall from Paradise.

EARTH next and heaven, sea and sky,
Found shape within the Eternal mind,
And stood created. Next appeared
The fruitful herb, and tree in kind:
Sun, moon, and stars that climb the heavens,
And birds and fishes, great and small,
And beasts and herds and living things,
And man to be the king of all.

FROM every glad Angelic tongue,
Soon as the stars sprung into light,
Burst forth the wondering shout that praised
The heavenly Creator's might (Job xxxviii, 7).
And, as His handiwork they viewed,
Arose from loving hearts and free
The tribute due of wondrous song,
Swelling in sweetest harmony.

'GAINST Satan's wiles and Hell's assault
Our primal parents could not stand:
And into new abysses fell
The leader and his horrid band;
Fierce forms, with noise of beating wings,
Too dread for sight of mortal eye,
Who, fettered, far from human ken,
Within their prison houses lie.

HIM, banished from his first estate,
The Lord cast out for evermore;
And now his wild and rebel crew
In upper air together soar (Eph. ii, 2; vi, 12).
Invisible, lest men should gaze
On wickedness without a name,
And, breaking every barrier down,
Defile themselves in open shame.

IN the three quarters of the sea
Three mighty fountains hidden lie,
Whence rise through whirling waterspouts
Rich-laden clouds that clothe the sky:

On winds from out his treasure-house
They speed to swell bud, vine, and grain,
While the sea-shallows emptied wait
Until the tides return again.

KINGS' earthly glory fleeteth fast,
And for a moment is its stay.
God hath all might; and at a nod
The giants fall beneath His sway (Gen. vi, 4; Wisd. xiv, 6).
'Neath waters deep, with mighty pangs,
In fires and torments dread they rave,
Choked in the whirlpool's angry surge,
Dashed on the rocks by every wave.

LIKE one that through a sparing sieve
The precious grain doth slowly pour,
God sendeth down upon the earth
The cloud-bound waters evermore:
And from the fruitful breasts of heaven,
While changing seasons wax and wane,
The welcome streams that never fail
Pour forth in rich supplies of rain.

MARK how the power of God supreme
Hath hung aloft earth's giant ball (Job xxvi, 7),
And fixed the great encircling deep,
His mighty hand supporting all
Upon the pillars which He made,
The solid rocks, and cliffs that soar,
And on the sure foundations rest
That stand unmoved for evermore.

NONE doubteth that within the earth
Glow the devouring flames of hell,
Wherein is prisoned darkest night
Where noisome beasts and serpents dwell,
Gehenna's old and awful moan,
And cries of men in anguish dire,
And falling tears, and gnashing teeth,
And thirst, and hunger's burning fire.

OF realms we read beneath the world
Where the departed spirits wait,
Who never cease to bend the knee
To Christ, the only Potentate.
They could not ope the written Book,
Whose seven seals none but He might break,
Fulfilling thus the Prophet's word,
That He should come, and victory make.

PARADISE and its pleasant glades
From the beginning God did make;
Out of whose fountain-head there flow
Four rivers sweet, earth's thirst to slake:
And midmost stands the tree of life,
With leaves that neither fade nor fall,
With healing to the nations frought,
Whose joys abundant never pall.

QUESTIONS the Singer,—"Who hath climbed
Sinai the mountain of the Lord?
The echoing thunders who hath heard,
And ringing trumpet-blast outpoured?
Who saw the lightning's dazzle whirl,
And heaving rocks that crashed and fell,
'Mid meteors' glare and darts of flame,
Save Moses, Judge of Israel?"

RISETH the dawn;—the day is near,
Day of the Lord, the King of kings;
A day of wrath and vengeance just,
Of darkness, clouds, and thunderings;
A day of anguished cries and tears,
When glow of woman's love shall pale;
When man shall cease to strive with man,
And all the world's desire shall fail.

SOON shall all mortals trembling stand
Before the Judge's awful throne,
And rendering the great account
Shudder each hateful sin to own.
Horror of night! when none can work,
Wailing of men, and flooding tears,
Opening the books by conscience writ,
Riving of hearts with guilty fears.

THE trumpet of the archangel first
Shall blare afar its summons dread;
And then shall burst earth's prison-bars,
And sepulchres give up their dead.
The ice of death shall melt away,
Whilst dust grows flesh, and bone meets bone,
And every spirit finds again
The frame that was before her own.

WANDERS Orion from heaven's height,
To thread his hidden eastern way
—Ere set the gleaming Pleiades—
Through bounds of ocean, day by day:

And Vesper, though his orbit's whirl
Be set twice twelve moons to endure,
One even by ancient paths returns,
—Types both of Him who cometh sure.*

XRIST the Most High from heaven descends,
The Cross His sign and banner bright.
The sun in darkness shrouds his face,
The moon no more pours forth her light:
The stars upon the earth shall fall
As figs drop from the parent tree,
When earth's broad space is bathed in fire,
And men to dens and mountains flee.

YONDER in heaven the angel host
Their ever-ringing anthems raise,
And flash in maze of holy dance,
The Trinity Divine to praise:
The four-and-twenty elders cast
Their crowns before the Lamb on high,
And the four Beasts all full of eyes
Their ceaseless triple praises cry.

ZEAL of the Lord, consuming fire,
Shall whelm the foes, amazed and dumb
Whose stony hearts will not receive
That Christ hath from the Father come:
But we shall soar our Lord to meet,
And so with Him shall ever be,
To reap the due rewards amidst
The glories of Eternity.

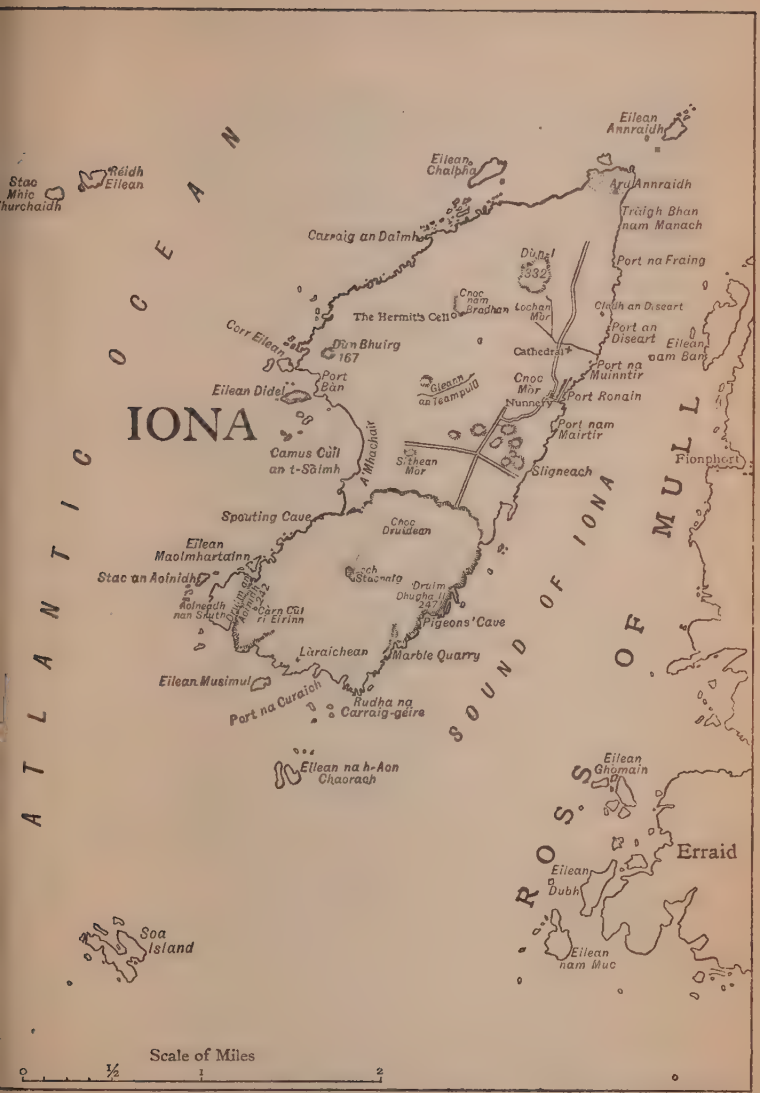
* In the daily motion of the stars, Orion sets a little before the Pleiades. The thought is that he only disappears to reappear from his hidden course below the ocean horizon, and is thus a type of the Second Advent. So is the planet Venus, whose movements bring it back to the same position in the heavens in 584 days. Venus is here simply called Vesperugo, the evening star, and the period is roughly called two years. These things were known in St. Columba's time, and he himself is said to have been versed in astronomical knowledge. (The substance of this note is from the *Liber Hymnorum* editors.)

APPENDIX III.

THE GAELIC PLACE-NAMES ON THE MAP OF IONA.

The names on the map opposite cannot all be interpreted. In the case of Eilean Annraidh and Ard Annraidh at the N.E. end of Iona, Eilean means an island and Ard a height, but Annraidh is doubtful. Eilean Ghòmain, on the Mull side, and E. Didel and E. Musimul are also omitted from the following list. More is said about some of the names in the body of the book.

Aoineadh nan Sruth. Cliff of the streams, or tides.
Camus Cùil an t-Sàimh. Bay of the ocean-nook.
Càrn Cùl ri Eirinn. Cairn of the back to Ireland.
Carraig an Daimh. Rock of the ox, or stag.
Cladh an Diseart. Burial-ground of the hermitage.
Cnoc Druidean. Hill of starlings. Or perhaps Cnoc Druidhean; Hill of the Druids, or wise men.
Cnoc Mòr. Great hill.
Cnoc nam Bradhan. Hill of the querns.
Corr Eilean. Pointed or high island, or heron island.
Druim an Aoinidh. Ridge of the cliff.
Druim Dhùghaill. Dugal's ridge.
Dùn Bhuirg. Hill of the fort.
Dùn-I. Hill of Iona.
Eilean na h-Aon Chaorach. Island of one sheep.
Eilean nam Ban (Mull). Isle of the women.
Eilean Chalbha. Calf island. Norse—kalfr, a calf.
Eilean Dubh (Mull). Black or dark island.
Eilean Maolmhartainn. Maolmartin's island.
Eilean nam Muc (Mull). Isle of the pigs.
Erraid, or Earraid (Mull). From àiridh, a sheiling or hill-pasture (?)
Fionphort (Mull). White port.
Gleann an Teampuill. Glen of the church.
Làraichean. Ruins.
Loch Staonaig. Loch of the slope.
Lochan Mòr. Great pond.
Machair A plain. A' Mhachair. The plain.
Port Bàn. White bay.
Port na Curaich. Bay of the coracle.
Port an Diseart. Port of the hermitage.
Port na Fraing. Port of France.
Port nam Mairtir. Bay of the martyrs.
Port na Muinntir. Port of the community, or people.
Port Ronain. St. Ronan's Bay.
Réidh Eilean. Level or smooth island.



Emery Walker Sc.

MODERN IONA.

Rudha na Carraig-géire. Point of the sharp rock.
Sithean Mòr. Great fairy-mound. This is the Angels' Hill.
Sligneach. Shelly place.
Soa. Sheep island. Norse—saudr, a sheep.
Stac an Aoinidh. Rock of the cliff.
Stac Mhic Mhurchaidh. MacMurdoch's rock.
Tràigh Bhàn nam Manach. White beach of the monks.

APPENDIX IV.

THE ISLAND OF STAFFA (PLATE 40).

THE photograph opposite shows a true Hebridean scene of bare rock, broad waters, and their denizens, but with its own characteristics in the tier of basaltic columns, in which waves and weather have carved marvellous caverns. The hollow towards the left is the great arch of Fingal's Cave, rising 66 feet from the sea at mean tide, and overhung by a further height of 30 feet of cliff.

The name Staffa is Norwegian in origin; the appearance of the columns led the cruising Vikings of long ago to call the island *stafr*, a staff. It lies in full view from the north end of Iona, seven miles away; and St. Columba and his monks and their successors often sailed to and fro past its frowning face, but there is nothing to show that they ever took any notice of it—unless, indeed, it be the twelfth stanza of the Saint's *Altus Prosator*, which runs thus in a literal translation :—

By the divine powers of the great God is suspended
the globe of earth, and thereto is set the circle of the great deep,
supported by the strong hand of God Almighty;
promontories and rocks sustaining the same,
with columns like to bars on solid foundations,
immoveable like so many strengthened bases.

PLATE 40. STAFFA: OFF FINGAL'S CAVE.

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